NIGERIA Vol. III 0
a) Memos end 1/31/70

NIGERIA VOL III
a) Memos end 1/31/70
b) 11/69 to 2/28/70 - Other
1

Folder continued from previous reel

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
5	cable	State to DoD	1/28/70	B
6	cable	Eungu to Lagos	N/D	B
8	cable	Lagos to State	N/D	B
10	memo	Kissinger to the President	1/28/70	B
11	report	"Nigeria's True Friends"	1/27/70	B
18	memo	Eliot to Kissinger	1/23/70	B
25	report	"Western Newsmen in Nigeria	N/D	B
32	memo	Kissinger to the President	1/19/70	B
33	memo	Kissinger to the President	1/19/70	B
34	memo	Kissinger to the President	1/19/70	B
37a	telegram	the Prime Minister to the President	1/14/70	B
39	memo	to Kissinger	1/15/70	B
42	memo	to Kissinger	1/13/70	B
45	memo	to Kissinger	1/13/70	B
52	memo	Kissinger to the President	1/10/70	B

FILE GROUP TITLE: NSC

BOX NUMBER: 742

FOLDER TITLE: 1

RESTRICTION CODES

A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
B. National security classified information.
C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.
D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.
E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.
F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.
G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
55	memo	Memorandum for the President	1/9/70	B
56	letter	Haig to Henry	1/9/70	B
57	memo	Memorandum for the President	1/9/70	B
58	letter	Haig to Henry	1/9/70	B
62	memo	Kissinger to the President	12/10/69	B
74a	memo	Kissinger to the President	n/D	B
76	telegram	Acting Secretary to Ambassador	2/14/70	B
84	cable	CIA to White House	2/3/70	B
85	cable	CIA to White House	1/30/70	B
86	cable	Intelligence Information Cable	1/28/70	B
87	cable	Intelligence Information Cable	1/27/70	B
88	cable	Intelligence Information Cable	1/20/70	B
89	cable	Intelligence Information Cable	1/23/70	B
90	cable	Intelligence Information Cable	1/17/70	B

FILE GROUP TITLE: NSC

BOX NUMBER: 742

FOLDER TITLE: 1

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DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
91	cable	Intelligence Information Cable	1/16/70	B
92	letter	Murul to King	1/14/70	B
93	memo	Meyer to Kissinger	1/13/70	B
94	report	Nigeria	N/D	B
95	cable	Intelligence Information Cable	11/18/69	B
96	cable	Intelligence Information Cable	11/6/69	B
97	cable	Intelligence Information cable	10/31/69	B
98	memo	McManis to Lake	12/30/69	B
99	cable	Dirnsa to White House	1/29/70	B
100	cable	Lagos to RCI	1/28/70	B
101	cable	Dirnsa to White House	1/28/70	B
102	cable	Lagos to State	1/28/70	B
103	cable	Lagos to State	1/27/70	B
104	cable	Dirnsa to White House	1/27/70	B
105	cable	Dirnsa to White House	1/27/70	B

FILE GROUP TITLE: NSC

BOX NUMBER: 742

FOLDER TITLE: (1)

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DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
106	cable	GCHQ to FCO	1/27/70	B
107	cable	Dirnsa to White House	1/27/70	B
108	cable	Dirnsa to White House	N/D	B
109	cable	Dirnsa to White House	1/21/70	B
110	report	Probable Ojukwu Location	1/19/70	B
111	cable	Dirnsa to White House	1/22/70	B
123	telegram	Lagos to Secstate	2/10/70	B
125	cable	White House to Lagos	2/6/70	B
127	cable	Lagos to Secstate	2/3/70	B
131	telegram	Lagos to Secstate	1/30/70	B
132	cable	Lagos to State	1/30/70	B
139	cable	Lagos to Secstate	1/27/70	B
144	telegram	Lagos to Secstate	1/24/70	B
148	telegram	Lagos to Secstate	1/27/70	B
156	telegram	Lagos to Secstate	1/21/70	B

FILE GROUP TITLE: NSC

BOX NUMBER: 742

FOLDER TITLE: 1

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DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
157	telegram	Lagos to Secstate	1/19/70	B
162	telegram	Lagos to Secstate	1/12/70	B
167	telegram	Lagos to Secstate	12/18/69	B
168	telegram	Lagos to Secstate	12/17/69	B
170	telegram	Lagos to Secstate	12/8/69	B
175	telegram	Secstate to Lagos	1/29/70	B
190	telegram	Secstate to Lagos	1/22/70	B
191	telegram	Secstate to Lagos	1/29/70	B
192	telegram	Secstate to Lagos	1/28/70	B
194	telegram	Secstate to Lagos	1/24/70	B
199	telegram	Secstate to Lagos	12/8/69	B
208	telegram	Secstate to Lagos	10/17/69	B

FILE GROUP TITLE: NSC

BOX NUMBER: 742

FOLDER TITLE: 1

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H Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 545

'70 FEB 25 PM 4:20

PAGE 01 LAGOS 02014 01 OF 02 251811Z

51
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
040996

O 251715Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1913

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 2014/1

EXDIS

REF: STATE 026875; STATE 025073

1. LAGOS 1973 PROVIDES THE STATUS OF RELIEF VEHICLES AS OF 24 FEBRUARY. THE DELAY IN THE DELIVERY OF TRUCKS WHICH IS REFLECTED THEREIN CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO S NUMBER OF FACTORS. FIRST, THE CRASH PROCUREMENT OF SIXTY-SIX TRUCKS FOR THE AIRLIFT PRODUCED THREE DIFFERENCT MAKES OF VHEICLES. OF THESE, THE THIRTY-SIX INTERNATIONAL HARVESTERS WERE ALL OF THE SAME MODEL, THE SIX FORDS WERE OF TWO DIFFERENT MODELS, AND THE TWENTY-FOUR DOGES CONSISTED OF NINETEEN OF ONE MODEL, OF WHICH TWELVE WERE SIX-CYLINDER AND SEVEN WERE EITHT-CYLINDER, AND FIVE TRUCKS OF A DIFFERENT MODEL. THIS ASSORTMENT OF VEHICLES, PLUS THE FAILURE TO DELIVER THE ACCESSORIES REPORTED IN LAGOS 1370, LAGOS 1810 AND LAGOS 1893, COMPLICATED AND DELAYED THE PREPARATION OF THESE TRUCKS FOR DELIVERY. THE INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER COMPANY REPORESENTATIVES IN LAGOS, COMPAGNIE FRANCAISE DE L'AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE (CFAO) DID AN EXCELLENT JOB SERVICING THE VEHICLES AND REPORTING PROMPTLY THE SHORTAGES OF WHEELS AND OTHER ACESSORIES. THE ALLEN FORD CO. (BRITISH) APPARENTLY DID NOT GIVE THE SAME PRIORITY TO THE SIX FORD TRUCKS AND DID NOT REPORT THE LACK OF SPARE WHEELS. THE TWENTY-FOUR DODGE VEHICLES WERE SERVICED BY THE ARMELS CO. AT A RELATIVELY SLOW PACE AND THEY DID NOT COMPLETE THE LAST OF THE VEHICLES RECEIVED ON THE C-141 AIRCRAFT UNTIL 23 FEBRUARY.

2. THE SECOND FACTOR WAS THE INABILITY OF THE FEDERAL REHABILITATION COMMISSION TO PRODUCE A FIRM ALLOCATION FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF THESE VEHICLES TO THE STATES. ALTHOUGH

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AYIDA ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS PERSONALLY ASSURED ADLER THAT THESE ALLOCATIONS HAD BEEN MADE, THE WORKING STAFF OF THE REHAB COMMISSION EITHER DID NOT HAVE THIS INFORMATION OR FOR SOME REASON WERE NOT ABLE OR WILLING TO ACT ON IT. THIS SITUATION CONTINUED UNTIL ADLER AGAIN RAISED THIS PROBLEM WITH AYIDA ON FEBRUARY 21, 1970, AT WHICH TIME AYIDA REPORTED THAT HE WAS BEING TOLD BY REHAB COMMISSION PERSONNEL THAT THERE WERE NO TRUCKS AVAILABLE FOR DELIVERY. IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THAT CONFERENCE, A LETTER WAS DELIVERED TO AYIDA TRANSMITTING A PRECISE REPORT ON THE STATUS OF ALL VEHICLES, A COPY OF WHICH WAS SENT TO OLOWU, DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS OF THE NATIONAL REHAB COMMISSION. THIS RESULTED IN AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE ALLOCATION PROCESS.

3. THE THIRD PROBLEM WAS THE DIFFICULTY THE REHAB COMMISSION HAD IN OBTAINING LICENSES FOR THESE VEHICLES. THE FIRST FIFTEEN TRUCKS TO LEAVE LAGOS ON FEBRUARY 14 CARRIED TEMPORARY LICENSES ISSUED BY THE RHAB COMMISSION. HOWEVER, THE REGULAR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENT IS REPORTED TO HAVE BALKED AT THIS PROCEDURE AND HAS REQUIRED THE COMMISSION TO FOLLOW STANDARD REGISTRATION PROCEDURES.

4. OF THE SIXTY-SIX TRUCKS RECEIVED IN THE AIRLIFT, FIFTEEN WERE DELIVERED TO THE CENTERAL-EASTERN STATE, NINETEEN MORE WERE LOADED TODAY FOR ENUGU, AND ALL BUT ONE OF THE REMAINDER ARE SERVICED AND READY FOR DELIVERY EVEN THOUGH CERTAIN ACCESSORIES AND TOOLS ARE NOT IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE. ONE REQUIRES MAJOR REPAIRS.

5. ALL FIFTY OF THE JEEPS RECEIVED HAVE BEEN ALLOCATED AND EXCEPT FOR ONE CONSIGNED TO THE CENTRAL-EASTERN STATE AND TEN DELIVERED TO THE RIVERS STATE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE IN LAGOS FOR ON-FORWARDING, ALL HAVE REACHED THE STATES FOR WHICH THEY WERE INTENDED. WE ARE NOW INVESTIGATING THE ELEVEN JEEPS, THE DELIVERY OF WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN CONFIRMED.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 609

70 FEB 25 PM 4:20

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

2

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51
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
---------- 041285

O 251715Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1914

S E C R E T FINAL SECTION OF 2 LAGOS 2014/2

EXDIS

6. WE DO NOT YET HAVE REPORTS BY OUR AMERICAN PERSONNEL IN THE FIELD ON THE ACTUAL UTILIZATION OF THESE VEHICLES. RELIEF OPERATIONS OFFICERS ACHENER AND HYDER AND AUDITOR MANGER ARE IN ENUGU AND OPERATIONS OFFICER HARRIS AND AUDITOR ENGLISH ARE IN PORT HARCOURT (RUFFINO'S DEPARTURE HAS BEEN DELAYED DUE TO LACK OF AIR TRANSPORT). ALL THESE PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO OBSERVE AND REPORT UPON THE UTILIZATION OF ALL US-SUPPLIED RELIEF MATERIAL. AUDITORS ENGLISH AND MANGER ARE ASSIGNED TO FULL-TIME END-USE INVESTIGATIONS.

7. THOMASON IS SCHEDULED TO FLY TO ENUGU ON THURSDAY SUBJECT TO THE AVAILABILITY OF A CHARTER AIRCRAFT FOR AN ON-THE-SPOT INSPECTION, DISCUSSIONS WITH FIELD PERSONNEL AND TO INTRODUCE THE STANDARD REPORTING FORMAT DESCRIBED LAGOS 1974. THOMASON IS SCHEDULED TO RETURN THURSDAY NIGHT AND SHORTLY THEREAFTER HE WILL VISIT PORT HARCOURT AND CALABAR FOR THE SAME PURPOSE.

8. THE KEY TO NOT ONLY ADEQUATE REPORTING BUT TO EFFECTIVE FIELD OPERATIONS IS SOME MEANS OF COMMUNICATION OTHER THAN THE GROSSLY INADEQUATE NIGERIA RED CROSS NETWEORK. ADLER WAS ASSURED THIS MORNING BY LAWSON, PERMSEC MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS THAT THE AUTHORITY TO EXTEND THE USAID RADIO NETWORK TO THE EASTERN STATES HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED, AND AT THIS MOMENT A USAID OFFICER IS AT THE MINISTRY HOPING TO RECEIVE THE LICENSES REQUIRED FOR EACH OF THE RADIO UNITS. THE RADIO EQUIPMENT IS READY FOR IMMEDIATE INSTALLATION. WE DID NOT WISH TO RISK OPERATING UNAUTHORIZED STATIONS BECAUSE OF THE VERY LIKELY PROBABILITY OF DETECTION.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 02014 02 OF 02 251902Z

9. AN ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN THE OBVIOUS IMPROVEMENT IN AT LEAST THE UNDERSTANDING OF MANY OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE RELIEF PROGRAM BY OLOWU SINCE HIS RETURN FROM AN INSPECTION TRIP TO PORT HARCOURT ON MONDAY. IN A BRIEF CONVERSATION WITH ADLER AND THOMASON TUESDAY HE SEEMED TO BE FAR MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE AND CONSIDERABLY MORE CONCERNED REGARDING THE DELIVERY OF COMMODITIES FROM BOTH LAGOS AND PORT HARCOURT TO THEIR FINAL DESTINATION THAN HE HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY. HE HAS ALSO SHOWN A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROLE OF THE VINNELL CORP. AND HAS ALREADY ISSUED TWO DIRECTIVES TO VINNELL CONCERNING MAINTENANCE OPERATIONS IN THE STATES. WE BELIEVE THE COMPLETION OF THE STAFF OF THE NATIONAL REHAB FIELD OFFICES IN PORT HARCOURT, ENUGU AND CALABAR, ALONG WITH THE INSTALLATION OF THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM NOW EXPECTED FOR AIR DELIVERY IN EARLY MARCH, WILL ELIMINATE MUCH OF THE PRESENT CONFUSION, CONFLICTING ORDERS AND MISINFORMATION WHICH HAS BEEN CHARACTERISTIC OF THE REHAB COMMISSION SINCE ITS REORGANIZATION IN MID-JANUARY.

10 TO SUMMARIZE, THE MAJOR OBSTACLES, BOTH TECHNICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE, WHICH HAVE DELAYED THE MOVEMENT OF TRUCKS AND OTHER COMMODITIES FROM LAGOS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN LARGELY REMOVED. OUR FIELD PERSONNEL ARE ON DUTY IN PORT HARCOURT, ENUGU AND CALABAR. THE PROSPECTS OF TYING OUR FIELD PERSONNEL, AT LEAST IN ENUGU, INTO THE STATE RELIEF ACTION STRUCTURE AS DISCUSSED WITH ASIKA, REPORTED LAGOS 1980, SHOULD ENHANCE OUR EFFECTIVENESS IN INFLUENCING AND ASSISTING IN THE STATE RELIEF PROGRAM, AS WELL AS OUR REPORTING. WE INTEND TO ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP SIMILAR ARRANGEMENTS IN EACH OF THE OTHER STATES. THESE RELATIONSHIPS, ALONG WITH EFFECTIVE MEANS OF COMMUNICATIONS, SHOULD PROVIDE A MORE EFFECTIVE BASIS FOR ACHIEVING THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR RELIEF ACTIVITIES AND FOR MEETING OUR REQUIRMENTS FOR FACTUAL, SYSTEMATIC REPORTING. GP-3.
TRUEHEART

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SECRET

29

C11/10/SHL

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 833

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01916 221224Z 2

17
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
---------- 025913

O 221145Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1852

S E C R E T LAGOS 1916

JOINT STATE/USAID MESSAGE

EXDIS

AIDAC

SUBJECT NIGERIAN RELIEF HELICOPTERS

REFERENCES:
A. LAGOS 1800
B. LAGOS 1806
C. LAGOS 1912

EXDIS

DAVIDSON REPORTS NIGERIAN AIRFORCE MAJOR ALFA, COMMANDANT OF ENUGU AIRPORT HAD BEEN ALERTED TO EXPECT ALL FOUR HELICOPTERS ON FRIDAY FEBRUARY 20. THIS CONFIRMS OUR ORIGINAL UNDERSTANDING FROM AYIDA THAT MILITARY CLEARANCE HAD BEEN GRANTED FOR THE AIRCRAFT.GP-3.
TRUEHEART

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 857

PAGE 01 STATE 026972

43 ---- 2
ORIGIN SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 R

66605
DRAFTED BY: NIGERIA WORKING GROUP - GBSHERRY
APPROVED BY: AF - C. ROBERT MOORE
U/CF - MR. FOLEY (INFO)
AFR/CWA - MR. NORTH
S/PC - MR. RUSER
S/S-O - BFLATIN
---------- 026620

O 221946Z FEB 70 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 026972

EXDIS

JOINT STATE/AID MESSAGE

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF--HELICOPTERS

REF (A) LAGOS 1912 (B) LAGOS 1913

1. DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN EMBASSY RECOMMENDATION THAT AYIDA BE TOLD WE WOULD PREFER RETURN HELICOPTERS TO U.S. IF CLEARANCE FOR USE IN RELIEF AREA NOT GRANTED WITHIN A REASONABLE TIME.

2. WE WISH AVOID DILUTING POSITIVE EFFECTS SECRETARY'S CONVERSATIONS WITH GOWON AND FMG LEADERSHIP. THEREFORE, HELICOPTER ISSUE SHOULD BE TREATED IN MATTER-OF-FACT FASHION, AND WITHOUT IN ANY WAY IMPLYING AN ULTIMATUM. FMG DECISION ON USE OF HELICOPTERS IS GOVERNING FACTOR AND OUR INTEREST IS THE TECHNICAL ONE OF SEEING THAT HELICOPTERS ARE PUT TO EFFECTIVE USE.

3. ALTHOUGH RECOGNIZING AND SHARING DESIRE FOR PROMPT RESOLUTION HELICOPTER ISSUE, PRINCIPLE CRITERIA IN SETTING TONE OF APPROACH TO AYIDA SHOULD BE:

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 026972

A. TO PRESERVE GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH FMG, PARTICULARLY ADLER-AYIDA, AND

B. TO AVOID URGING ACTIONS THAT COULD EMBARRASS OR WEAKEN POSITION AYIDA AND OTHERS IN FMG SYMPATHETIC TO RELIEF EFFORT.

4. EMBASSY SHOULD INDICATE TO AYIDA THAT WHILE WE--AND WE BELIEVE FMG--SAW GREAT UTILITY IN RELIEF EFFORT FOR HELICOPTERS BOTH FOR EXPEDITING TRAVEL MEDICAL/RELIEF TEAMS AND FOR EMERGENCY DELIVERY OF LIMITED QUANTITIES OF FOODSTUFFS TO REMOTE AREAS OF NEED, WE WILL, OF COURSE, BE GUIDED BY FMG'S DECISION ON USE OF HELICOPTERS. IF FMG REALLY WANTS HELICOPTERS, THEY WILL REMAIN AVAILABLE IN EXPECTATION THAT ALL REQUIRED CLEARANCES, INCLUDING MILITARY, WILL BE FORTHCOMING WITHIN A REASONABLE TIME. IF FMG DOES NOT WANT TO EMPLOY HELICOPTERS, WE WANT TO KNOW SOON SO THAT ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE MADE FOR THE RETURN OF THE MACHINES TO THE U.S.

5. FYI: ALTHOUGH RELATIVE NEED FOR HELICOPTERS MAY HAVE DIMINISHED, WE NEVERTHELESS BELIEVE HELICOPTERS CAN SERVE A VERY USEFUL PURPOSE IN RELIEF EFFORT AND FURTHER REHABILITATION WORK, AT LEAST UNTIL TRANSPORT ARRANGEMENTS FURTHER IMPROVED.
END FYI.
RICHARDSON

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hll/10/ehL

EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SUMMARY

SECRET 728

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01912 212202Z

81
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
---------- 024295

O 211745Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1849

S E C R E T LAGOS 1912

EXDIS

JOINT USAID/STATE MESSAGE

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF - HELICOPTERS

REF: A) LAGOS 1806 B) LAGOS 1800

FRIDAY MORNING AT 0900 HOURS MYERS AND THE HELICOPTER CREWS DEPARTED FOR PAEJA AIRPORT AFTER ADLER OBTAINED CONFIRMATION FROM AYIDA THAT THE HELICOPTERS HAD BEEN CLEARED FOR DEPARTURE TO ENUGU. AFTER USUAL PREFLIGHT PREPARATION AT THE AIRFIELD, THE CHIEF PILOT FILED HIS FLIGHT PLAN WITH AIR FORCE PERSONNEL MANNING THE CONTROL TOWER IN ACCORDANCE WITH APPROVED PROCEDURES. THE FLIGHT PLAN WAS APPROVED AND THE CREW PROCEEDED TO AIRCRAFT AND WERE SUBSEQUENTLY GIVE PERMISSION BY RADIO FROM THE TWOER TO TAKE OFF. ALL FOUR AIRCRAFT WERE AIRBORNE AT 1237 HOURS. AT APPROXIMATELY 1300 HOURS LOUBER, USAID OPERATIONS OFFICIER AT AIRFIELD, NOTIFIED ADLER THAT AICRAFT AND BEEN ORDERED BY MAJOR DIXON TO RETURN TO THE FIELD BECAUSE THEY DID NOT HAVE MILITARY CLEARANCE. THE AIRCRAFT, RECEIVED THIS WORD BY RADIO APPROXIMATELY FIFTEEN MILES OUT AND RETURNED TO IKEJA AIRFIELD AT 1330 HOURS.

ADLER WAS UNABLE TO CONTACT AYIDA, WHO WAS AT DODAN BARRACKS ATTENDING MEETING WITH SECRETARY ROGERS, BUT MANAGED TO REACH HIS DEPUTY FOR RELIEF MATTERS, EDIAE, WHO AGREED TO LOOK INTO THE MATTER. WE HEARD NOTHING FURTHER UNTIL 1415 HOURS WHEN ADLER MET HAMSAT AHMADU, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO THE CHIEF OF STATE, AT THE LUNCHEON FOR THE SECRETARY, WHO INFORMED HIM THAT EDIAE HAD REACHED AYIDA BY PHONE AT DODAN BARRACKS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 01912 212202Z

AND THAT ORDERS HAD BEEN ISSUED TO PERMIT THE HELICOPTERS TO DEPART. AHMADU STATED THE SUPREME COMMANDER WAS AWARE OF THE INCIDENT AND WAS QUOTE VERY UPSET UNQUOTE. ADLER RETURNED TO HIS OFFICE APPROXIMATELY 1600 HOURS, TO LEARN THAT THE AIRCRAFT WERE STILL ON THE GROUND AT IKEJA. AT APPROXIMATELY 1630 ADLER REACHED AYIDA AT HIS HOME, WHO TOLD HIM RATHER DEJECTEDLY THAT HE HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT THE AIRCRAFT HAD NOT DEPARTED AND THAT HE WAS STILL TRYING TO FIND OUT QUOTE WHAT'S GOING ON UNQUOTE. HOWEVER, HE SAID HE WAS SURE MATTERS WOULD BE CLEARED UP IN THE MORNING QUOTE EVEN IF THE GENERAL HAS TO GO TO THE AIRFIELD HIMSELF UNQUOTE.
SHORTLY BEFORE 0900 THIS MORNING SATURDAY ADLER CALLED AYIDA, WHO REQUESTED THAT THE CREWS PROCEED TO THE AIRFIELD IMMEDIATELY, INDICATING THAT MILITARY CLEARANCE WOULD BE ISSUED. UPON ARRIVAL AT THE AIRFIELD THE CREW FOUND DIXON WAS NOT IN EVIDENCE BUT HIS DEPUTY, CAPTAIN DANIELS, AFTER REVIEWING THEIR FLIGHT PLAN AND FINDING IT TO BE IN ORDER, REQUESTED THAT THEY FILL OUT SECURITY FORMS. AFTER RETURNING WITH THE SECURITY FORMS THE CREW WERE DIRECTED TO A MAJOR UGAN, WHO IS ACTING AS THE OFFICER IN CHARGE OF SECURITY, LAGOS AIRPORT, SUCCEEDING MAJOR DIXON, WHO ACCORDING TO AN OFFICIAL CIRCULAR IS QUOTE PROCEEDING ON LEAVE WITH EFFECT FROM FEBRUARY 24 UNQUOTE. UGAH ADVISED THE RELIEF PILOT THAT THE AIRCRAFT COULD NOT FLY WITHOUT NIGERIAN COPILOTS AND THAT HE WAS IN PROCESS OF CLEARING COPILOTS. HE HOPED TO HAVE WORD ON THIS LATER IN THE DAY. (BELIEVE THEY ACTUALLY HAVE IN MIND "OBSERVERS", RATHER THAN COPILOTS).

SHORTLY AFTER BEING INFORMED OF THIS DEVELOPMENT BY MYERS, WHO CALLED FROM THE AIRFIELD, ADLER TELEPHONED AYIDA, WHO SAID QUOTE I AM NOW DISCUSSING THE MATTER WITH UGAH'S CHIEF, UNQUOTE AND WILL ADVISE THE AIRFIELD AS SOON AS THE MATTER IS CLEARED UP.

AT 1230 HOURS THE CHIEF PILOT AGAIN CONTACTED UGAH, WHO ADVISED HIM TO COME BACK TOMORROW MORNING. ADLER HAS BEEN UNABLE TO CONTACT AYIDA SO FAR THIS AFTERNOON.
IN VIEW OF THIS SEQUENCE OF EVENTS, REQUEST WE BE AUTHORIZED TO INFORM AYIDA THAT IF AIRCRAFT DEPARTURE IS NOT CLEARED PROMPTLY WE WILL BE REQUIRED TO RETURN THEM TO THE U.S. IN VIEW OF DIMINISHING REQUIRMENT FOR HELICOPTERS AS TIME PASSES, BELIEVE WE ARE NOT JUST-

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SECRET

PAGE 03 LAGOS 01912 212202Z

IFIED IN ACCEPTING FURTHER COSTS OF HOLDING MACHINES IDLE HERE.
AMBASSADOR FERGUSON CONCURS. GP-3.
TRUEHEART

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 627

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01908 211705Z

43
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W
023587

R 211625Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1846

S E C R E T LAGOS 1908

EXDIS

FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY

REF: STATE 26745

1. I HAVE DISCUSSED YOUR MESSAGE WITH DR. CONRAD WHO UNDERSTANDS CLEARLY WHAT IS WANTED.

2. THE KEY TO GETTING NIGERIAN ACCEPTANCE OF HIGHER FEEDING GOALS IS THE MEDICAL SURVEY. HOWEVER, THE SURVEY RESULTS, IN NIGERIA EYES, ARE STILL TENTATIVE WITH FURTHER COLLATION AND, ABOVE ALL, EVALUATION TO BE ACCOMPLISHED AND AGREED UPON BY THE NIGERIAN RED CROSS AND MINISTRY OF HEALTH PARTICIPANTS. DR. CONRAD EXPLAINS IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE TO DRS. LYTHCOTT AND WESTERN (LAGOS 1906) HOW HE AND DR. FOSTER SEE THE SURVEY DEVELOPING, HOW THEY PROPOSE TO PROCEED AND WHAT HE SEES AS POSSIBLE DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING NIGERIAN ACCEPTANCE OF CONCLUSIONS FULLY IN LINE WITH THOSE REACHED IN WASHINGTON. HE HOPES THAT EVALUATION CAN BE COMPLETED DURING COMING WEEK, SO THAT AGREED REPORT CAN BE PRESENTED TO FMG.

3. NEITHER I NOR DR. CONRAD CAN THINK OF EFFECTIVE MEANS, ADDITIONAL TO WORKING THROUGH THE SURVEY, OF BRINGING OUR VIEWS ON FEEDING NEEDS TO NIGERIAN ATTENTION. INDEED, I FEEL SURE THAT SEPARATE APPROACHES WOULD BE MOST LIKELY TO AROUSE SUSPICIONS AND JEOPARDIZE THE EFFORTS OF CONRAD AND FOSTER TO PERSUADE THEIR

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 01908 211705Z

NIGERIAN COLLEAGUES ON THE MERITS. THE SECRETARY'S
VISIT HAS, I BELIEVE, DONE MUCH TO IMPROVE THE GENERAL

TONE OF U.S.-NIGERIAN RELATIONS BUT IT HAS IN NO WAY
MADE FMG MORE AMENABLE TO OUTSIDE ADVICE ON WHAT THEY
CONSIDER STRICTLY DOMESTIC PROBLEM.
TRUEHEART

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SECRET 127

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01806 191449Z

42
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
---------- 008738

O 191435Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1788

S E C R E T LAGOS 1806

EXDIS

JOINT EMBASSY/USAID MESSAGE

'70 FEB 19 PM 2:56

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

AYIDA TOLD ADLER AT NOON TODAY THAT THE HELICOPTER SITUATION HAD BEEN CLEARED UP AND THAT THE AIRCRAFT WOULD RECEIVE MILITARY CLEARANCE TO DEPART FOR ENUGU. HE SAID THAT APPARENTLY SOMEBODY IN THE AIR FORCE HAD FLOATED THE IDEA THAT THE HELICOPTERS OUGHT TO BE OPERATED BY NIGERIAN AIR FORCE CREWS. HE SAID QUOTE I DECIDED TO PULL IKWUE'S LEG WHEN HE TOLD ME THIS AND ASKED WHO HE HAD WHO COULD FLY THE HELICOPTERS. UNQUOTE

AYIDA SAID NIGERIAN PERSONNEL WILL NOT BE REQUIRED TO FLY WITH THE AIRCRAFT. HOWEVER, THE AIR FORCE APPARENTLY WILL ASK FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF ASSIGNING AN OBSERVER ON OCCASIONAL FLIGHTS. HE SAID A LETTER WOULD BE FORTHCOMING ON THIS MATTER BUT HE DID NOT MAKE CLEAR WHETHER THE LETTER WOULD COME DIRECTLY TO USAID OR TO HIM. IN ANY EVENT, THE HELICOPTER AFFAIR SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN CLEARED UP SATISFACTORILY. AS AT 1:30P.M. WORD HAD NOT YET REACHED THE AIR FORCE OPERATIONS OFFICE AT IKEJA. THEREFORE THE AIRCRAFT MAY NOT DEPART UNTIL TOMORROW MORNING.
GP-5-2/19/71.
OLSON

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 100

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01800 191420Z

41
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
---------- 008598

O 190909Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1783

S E C R E T LAGOS 1800

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (MCN AND MRN ONLY)

DEPT PLS REPEAT TO DOUALA FOR AMB TRUEHEART

JOINT USAID/EMBASSY MESSAGE

SUBJ: EMERGENCY RELIEF - HELICOPTERS

ADLER TELEPHONED AYIDA AGAIN THIS MORNING CONCERNING THE FAILURE TO CLEAR THE HELICOPTERS FOR DEPARTURE FOR ENUGU. HE REMINDED HIM OF HIS EARLIER PROMISE OVER THE WEEKEND TO STRAIGHTEN THINGS OUT WITH THE AIR FORCE BY WEDNESDAY.

AYIDA SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN MEETINGS ON THE SUBJECT ALMOST ALL DAY YESTERDAY AND THAT HE EXPECTED TO HEAR FROM COL. IKWUE, CHIEF OF THE AIR FORCE, THIS MORNING. HE ADDED THAT THE RELIEF AND REHABILITATION PEOPLE FROM THE CENTRAL EASTERN STATE WERE ALSO PRESSING HIM FOR THE HELICOPTERS.

HE WENT ON TO SAY CONFIDENTIALLY THAT THE ARGUMENT RAGING WITHIN THE MILITARY CIRCLES CONCERNS THE MATTER OF QUOTE PLACING A CO-PILOT UNQUOTE ON EACH OF THE HELICOPTERS. WHEN ASKED WHY NIGERIAN CO-PILOTS WERE DESIRED, AYIDA REPLIED THAT IT WAS NOT A MATTER OF OPERATING THE AIRCRAFT, BUT A MATTER OF SECURITY WHICH CONCERNS THE MILITARY. HE TOLD ADLER THAT QUOTE I TOOK THE LIBERTY TO TELL THEM THAT YOU WOULD NOT MIND IF A NIGERIAN WAS PLACED ON EACH OF THE AIRCRAFT TO MEET THEIR SECURITY CONCERNS, UNQUOTE AND THAT HE HOPED SOME DECISION WOULD BE REACHED PROMPTLY. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE WAS TOTALLY

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
'70 FEB 19 PM 2:56

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SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 01800 191420Z

FRUSTRATED BY MUCH OF THE MILITARY TECHNICAL JARGON WHICH HAD BEEN THROWN ARROUND AT THE MEETINGS.

ADLER HAS A MEETING WITH AYIDA AT NOON TODAY TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER AND THE NEED FOR EXPEDITING THE MOVEMENT OF AID RELIEF SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT WHICH HAVE NOT YET LEFT LAGOS. GP-3.
OLSON

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SECRET 797

PAGE 01 191022Z

10
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
---------- 007295

O 190909Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000

S E C R E T LAGOS 0000

EXDIS

DEPT PLS REPEAT TO DOUALA FOR AMB TRUEHEART

JOINT USAID/EMBASSY MESSAGE

SUBJ: EMERGENCY RELIEF - HELICOPTERS

ADLER TELEPHONED AYIDA AGAIN THIS MORNING CONCERNING THE FAILURE TO CLEAR THE HELICOPTERS FOR DEPARTURE FOR ENUGU. HE REMINDED HIM OF HIS EARLIER PROMISE OVER THE WEEKEND TO STRAIGHTEN THINGS OUT WITH THE AIR FORCE BY WEDNESDAY.

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'70 FEB 19 AM 9:41
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 191022Z

ADLER HAS A MEETING WITH AYIDA AT NOON TODAY TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER AND THE NEED FOR EXPEDITING THE MOVEMENT OF AID RELIEF SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT WHICH HAVE NOT YET LEFT LAGOS. GP-3. OLSON

NOTE: NOT REPEATED DOUALA BY OC/T.

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SECRET 132

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01724 162157Z

82
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W
---------- 121687 '70 FEB 17 AM 8:40 2

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

P 161759Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1744
INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY

S E C R E T LAGOS 1724

JOINT EMBASSY/USAID MESSAGE

KINSHASA FOR AMBASSADOR TRUEHEART

EXDIS

REF: STATE 23048

1. WE UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR CONTINUED AND IMPROVED REPORTING IN GREATER DETAIL ON ALL ASPECTS OF OUR FORMATS WHICH WILL SIMPLIFY CABLE PREPARATION AND ASSURE THE CONSISTENCY IN PRESENTATION NECESSARY TO REFLECT THE ACTUAL SITUATION AND TRENDS IN THE FLOW OF FOODSTUFFS, MAINTENANCE AND UTILIZATION OF OTHER RELIEF SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT. THIS SHOULD ALSO FACILITATE ANSWERING PRESS AND OTHER INQUIRIES BOTH AT POST AND IN WASHINGTON.

2. WE APPRECIATE OFFER TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL PERSONNEL ON TDY AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO REQUEST SUCH ASSIGNMENTS AS NEEDED. AT PRESENT WE INTEND TO STATION RUFFINO, FORTUNE, AND BOURNE, WINTER AND GIBSON ARE TO JOIN ACHENER AND DAVIDSON IN ENUGU, AND WE ARE EXAMINING THE NEED FOR ANOTHER OFFICER TO ASSIST EGAN IN SOUTH EAST STATE. IN ADDITION TO THESE DIRECT-HIRE PERSONNEL, WE HAVE REQUESTED AN ADDITIONAL 6 VINNELL AUTOMOTIVE SPECIALISTS WHO WILL BE STATIONED IN MAINTENANCE DEPOTS IN THE CENTRAL EASTERN AND RIVERS STATES. ALL OF THESE PERSONNEL, BOTH DIRECT-HIRE AND CONTRACT WILL BE STATIONED IN THE FIELD WITH TECHNICAL ASSIGNMENTS RELATED TO EITHER THE STATE OR FEDERAL REHAB COMMISSION RELIEF FUNCTIONS OR RED CROSS OPERATIONS. EACH OF THE DIRECT-HIRE TECHNICIANS IN

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THE FIELD WILL BE GIVEN SPECIFIC REPORTING RESPONSIBILITIES AND WILL BE REQUESTED TO DEBRIEF CONTRACT, VOLUNTARY AGENCY, AND OTHER RELIEF WORKERS WITHIN THEIR AREAS INFORMALLY, BUT REGULARLY TO PROVIDE MAXIMUM UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION IN THEIR AREAS. IN ADDITION TO THESE FIELD PERSONNEL, WE INTEND TO CONTINUE REGULAR TRAVEL TO THE WAR-AFFECTED STATES BY PERSONNEL STATIONED IN LAGOS. AT PRESENT KLEIN, EDWARDS, USAID EXECUTIVE OFFICER) WILLIAMS (FAA), AND NORTON ARE PERFORMING SUCH TRAVEL IN THE STATES. ADDITIONALLY PERSONNEL ON SPECIFIC ASSIGNMENTS SUCH AS CRUZ AND PRICE INSTALLING HOSPITALS AND THOMAS AND PERSCHMLL WITH THE LCM'S WILL PROVIDE USEFUL INFORMATION. PRESENT PROBLEM BASICALLY IS NOT LOAD ON MISSION STAFF BUT THAT ON NRC AND ASSOCIATED FIELD RELIEF STAFFS WHO ALTHOUGH OVERWORKED DISPENSING FOOD AND MEDICING ARE HARRIED BY CONTINUING DEMAND FOR STATISTICS. THESE ASSIGNMENTS SHOULD DO MUCH NOT ONLY TO RELIEVE THIS SITUATION BUT TO REDUCE THE NEED FOR ADDITIONAL TDY ASSIGNMENTS.
WE ARE CONCERNED THAT INJECTION OF PERSONNEL IN ADDITION TO THOSE MENTIONED PARA 2 ABOVE MAY WELL CASUE A CLAMP-DOWN BY FMG ON ACTIVITIES OF USAID STAFF IN DISTRESSED AREA.
GP-5 2/16/71.
OLSON

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SECRET 972

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01539 111340Z

41
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
090629

O 111228Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1615

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
'70 FEB 11 PM 12:32

S E C R E T LAGOS 1539

EXDIS

FOR RUSER

REF: STATE 20053

FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO PARAGRAPHING OF RUSER-KENNEDY MESSAGE OF FEB 5 (SC LAGOS 405).

PARA 3: GENERALLY CONCUR. HOPE TO SUBMIT LATER TODAY MORE SPECIFIC ASSESMENT MALNUTRITION BASED ON PRELIMINARY EVALUATION OF SURVEYS BY FOUR OF FIVE MEMBERS OF LYTHCOTT'S TEAM. QUESTION OF SEED AND NEW HARVEST DEALT WITH BELOW.

PARA 4: HAVE NOT SEEN RECOMMENDATIONS MENTIONED THIS PARA. HOWEVER, US EFFORT TO SUPPORT RELIEF PROGRAM IS BEING STRENGTHENED AND PUT ON MORE PERMANENT BASIS AND ADDITIONAL PERSONNEL WHOM WE HAVE IDENTIFIED AS NEEDED ARE BEING TRANSFERRED HERE ON URGENT BASIS.

PARA 5 AND 14: WE THINK A FIGURE OF 300 TONS DAILY FOR OWERRI DISTRICT MAY BE SOMEWHAT HIGH. S AUSTRIAN TEAM REPORT RECEIVED YESTERDAY STATED MINIMUM REQUIREMENT IS 200 TONS AND 250 TONS WOULD BE "IDEAL". 150 TONS PER DAY FOR OTHER POINTS SOUTHERN SECTOR LOOKS ABOUT RIGHT. DURING WEEK ENDING JANUARY 31 OWERRI ACTUALLY RECEIVED ONLY 267 TONS (LESS THAN 40 TONS PER DAY) BUT THIS WAS UP TO 861 TONS FOR WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 7. SOME LATTER CONSISTED OF DOMESTICALLY PROCURED FOODS SHIPPED DOWN FROM ENUGU. WE ARE WORKING ON A DETAILED INVENTORY OF AVAILABLE AND LOCATION OF TRUCKS. AS OF NOW NRC HAS OVERALL INVENTORY OF OVER 290 LOAD-CARRYING TRUCKS IN COUNTRY AND MORE

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THAN 100 ADDITIONAL EN ROUTE FROM VARIOUS DONORS. THESE FIGURES DO NOT INCLUDE PASSENGER VEHICLES, JEEPS AND LANDROVERS, AND NOT TAKE ACCOUNT AVAILABILITY COMMERCIAL TRANSPORT OR MILITARY VEHICLES. PENDING COMPLETION DETAILED LOGISTICAL STUDY, WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO CONCLUDE THAT TRUCKS AVAILABLE AND SCHEDULED FOR DELIVERY FALL SHORT OF REQUIREMENTS.

PARA 6: AGREE ON NEED FOR INCREASE IN RELIEF PERSONNEL. BELIEVE IN GENERAL IT WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE TO STRENGTHEN EXISTING TEAMS RATHER THAN INCREASE NUMBER OF TEAMS. PROBLEM OF BRINGING IN MORE EXPATS IS COMPLICATED AND TRICKY, HOWEVER, AS YOU REALIZE. IN ADDITION, ADMINISTRATOR ASIKA OF EAST CENTRAL STATE STILL THINKS HE HAS ENOUGH IBOS TO MEET IDENTIFIED NEEDS. AGREE RE ULI. THERE ARE NOW TWO ADDITIONAL TEAMS IN OWERRI AND AUSTRIAN TEAM HAS BEEN AUGMENTED. HOPEFULLY THIS HAS ENABLED THEM TO GET OUT OF WAREHOUSE.

PARA 7: AGREE. HOWEVER, NOTE WE DO NOW HAVE HELICOPTERS. UNDERSTAND THEY WILL BE USED PRIMARILY FOR SURVEILLANCE, MEDICAL EVACUATION AND DISTRIBUTION MEDICAL SUPPLIES.

PARA 8: THERE HAS CERTAINLY BEEN CONSIDERABLE DESTRUCTION BUT WE WOULD NOT HAVE SAID THAT "MAJOR PORTION" OF ABA AND UMAHIA HAVE BEEN REDUCED TO RUBBLE, PARTICULARLY UMAHIA.

PARA 9 AND 10: SEE LYTHCOTT TELEGRAM REFERRED TO EARLIER.

PARA 11: RECOMMEND YOU READ OUR A-044 ON ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE EAST. CENTRL BANK OFFICIALS TELL US THEY ARE DEFINITELY MOVING ON CURRENCT CONVERSION, AN EXTREMELY COMPLICATED OPERATION, AND EXPECT TO CARRY IT OUT WITHIN A MONTH, PERHAPS LESS. ONE NIGERIAN BANK TODAY ANNOUNCED OPENING OF A BRANCH IN ENUGU, AN ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT FROM STANDPOINT OF BRINGING CREDIT FACILITIES TO REGION.

PARA 13: COASTER SITUATION IS MUCH IMPROVED. TWO VESSELS ARE NOW HERE AND ANOTHER ON THE WAY FROM GERMANY. ALL THREE HAVE LESS THAN 21 FOOT DRAFT AND WILL BE CONTINOUSLY AVAILABLE FOR PORT HARCOURT RUN.

PARA 15: GENERALLY AGREE. HOWEVER, THIS IS FAST-MOVING SITUATION AND WE BELIEVE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS YOU MENTIONED ARE

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BEING ASSRESSED. FOR EXAMPLE, TWO PACKAGE HOSPITALS ARE NOW EN ROUTE FROM PORT HARCOURT TO EAST CENTRAL STATE.

PARA 16: COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH ADETORO HAS JUST RETURNED FROM SURVEY HOSPITAL SITUATION IN EAST AND WE HOPE TO HAVE RESULTS SOON. LYTHCOTT IS SEEING HIM TONIGHT.

PARA 17: BELIEVE THIS IS A GOOD SUMMARY.

PARA 18: USAID IS PURCHASING 130 TONS OF MAIZE SEED LOCALLY FOR WAR AFFECTED AREA. THIS IS GOOD EARLY CROP. US, UK, CARE, AND OTHER VOLUNTARY AGENCIES ARE TOGETHER BUYING TEN MILLION YAM SEEDLINGS. AGRICULTURE SURVEY BY ANITA WHITNEY IS UNDER WAY.

PARA 19: FULLY CONCUR. GP -2
TRUEHEART

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 908

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01524 101834Z

43
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W
---------- 085411

P 101652Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1607

S E C R E T LAGOS 1524

EXDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: STATE 017641

FOR THE UNDER SECRETARY

1. I AM VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE LARGE SUMS OF MONEY COMMITTED UNDER EMERGENCY PROCEDURES FOR NIGERIAN RELIEF HAVE BEEN WISELY AND EFFICIENTLY SPENT, AND FOR THE INTENDED PURPOSES. THIS REQUIRES AND WILL REQUIRE NOT ONLY SPECIAL PROCEDURES TO ASSURE ADEQUATE ACCOUNTABILITY BUT ALSO SPECIAL STEPS TO ASSIST THE FMG IN EFFECTIVE USE OF MATERIAL AND EQUIPMENT. I AM GLAD TO BE ABLE TO REPORT THAT USAID DIRECTOR ADLER IS IF ANYTHING EVEN MORE CONSCIOUS OF THIS REQUIREMENT AND HAS BEEN ACTING ENERGETICALLY AND IMAGINATIVELY TO MEET IT. IN AN OPERATION OF THIS KIND WHERE THERE HAS BEEN A CONSCIOUS DECISION TO SHORT-CUT STANDARD PROCEDURES IN ORDER TO GET AN URGENT JOB DONE, THERE ARE BOUND TO BE SLIPS, BUT WE EXPECT TO HOLD THESE TO THE MINIMUM. I HOPE IT IS ALSO UNDERSTOOD THAT IN TRYING TO INSURE EFFECTIVE PERFORMANCE (AS OPPOSED TO ACCOUNTABILITY) ON THE NIGERIAN SIDE, WE HAVE TO USE INGENUITY AND INDIRECT METHODS.

2. THE FACT THAT THE FMG DID NOT BEGIN SERIOUSLY TO MOBILIZE ITS OWN RESOURCES FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES UNTIL AFTER THE WAR'S END AND HAVE NOT YET COMPLETED THESE ARRANGEMENTS, RESULTS IN AN ADDED REQUIREMENT FOR VIGILANCE ON OUR PART. WE ARE, HOWEVER, ENCOURAGED

'70 FEB 10 PM 6:02
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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27

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 01524 101834Z

BY THE MANNER IN WHICH THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION, AND ITS RECONSTITUTED COMMISSION FOR REHABILITATION, ARE APPROACHING THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AND BY THE WILLINGNESS WITH WHICH THEY APPEAR TO BE RESPONDING TO ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE OFFERED BY US AND OTHER DONOR NATIONS.

3. FOLLOWING THE RECEIPT OF THE FIRST REQUEST FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT FOR AIR SHIPMENT TO NIGERIA, THE USAID RELIEF AND REHABILITATION STAFF WAS AUGMENTED BY REASSIGNING EXISTING AMERICAN PERSONNEL TO ASSIST IN THE RECEIPT, INVENTORYING AND INITIAL WAREHOUSING OF THE SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT AIR-LIFTED. AN AMERICAN MEMBER OF THE USAID STAFF WAS ASSIGNED FULLTIME RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING ARRIVAL ACCOUNTING RECORDS ON ALL US-FINANCED RELIEF COMMODITIES. TWO FULLTIME USAID AUDITORS WERE ASSIGNED TO FOLLOW AND AUDIT THE MOVEMENT OF THESE SUPPLIES. THE AID DIRECTOR, IN DAILY CONSULTATION WITH THE PERMANENT SECRETARY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION, AND THE USAID ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR RELIEF AND REHABILITATION, IN REGULAR CONSULTATION WITH THE NIGERIAN DIRECTOR OF RELIEF OPERATIONS, AND WITH THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE NIGERIAN RED CROSS, MAINTAIN CONTINUOUS LIAISON AT ALL LEVELS OFTHE FEDERAL NIGERIAN RELIEF EFFORT. THROUGH THIS MECHANISM WE ARE FULLY INFORMED ON THE REQUIREMENTS, THE ALLOCATION AND THE MOVEMENT OF US RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO THE WAR-AFFECTED AREAS. IN THE FIELD, USAID RELIEF OFFICERS ARE NOW STATIONED IN PORT HARCOURT, ENUGU AND CALABAR, AND ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN TO OBTAIN PERSONNEL TO AUGMENT THE STAFF IN PORT HARCOURT AND ENUGU.

4. WE BELIEVE THIS ORGANIZATION, WHICH WILL INVOLVE A US DIRECT-HIRE STAFF OF TWENTY-FIVE ENGAGED IN FULLTIME RELIEF ACTIVITIES WHEN PERSONNEL NOW ENROUTE ARRIVE, WILL BE ADEQUATE TO ASSURE ACCOUNTABILITY AND TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE EFFECTIVE ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE TO NIGERIAN RELIEF OFFICIALS AT BOTH THE FEDERAL AND STATE LEVELS. I HAVE INSTRUCTED ADLER TO REVIEW CONTINUOUSLY THE ADEQUACY OF THESE PERSONNEL AND FACILITIES TO MEET MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR ACCOUNTABILITY AND GOOD PROGRAM MANAGEMENT AS THIS ACTIVITY EVOLVES, AND TO REPORT TO ME IMMEDIATELY ON ANY PROBLEMS OR SHORTCOMINGS WHICH MAY ARISE
IN THE ARRANGEMENTS OF FULFILLING OUR RESPONSIBILITIES

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 01524 101834Z

FOR RELIEF ASSISTANCE.

5. ONE IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENT IS FOR AN OFFICER TO SUPERVISE RELIEF OPERATIONS AND LOGISTICS UNDER ADLER--A POSITION FOR WHICH WE HAD HOPED TO USE DEWEY. AT PRESENT ADLER IS DOING THIS PERSONALLY, TO THE EXCLUSION OF NEARLY EVERYTHING ELSE. WE HAVE IDENTIFIED MAN WE WANT (EMMETT THOMASON WITH USAID IN TUNISIA) AND REQUESTED HIS ASSIGNMENT HERE FOR 90 DAYS WITH POSSIBILITY OF EXTENSION. I AM NOT AWARE THAT THERE IS ANY PROBLEM ABOUT GETTING HIM RELEASED BUT WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR HELP IF THERE IS.
GP-2
TRUEHEART

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TO RUTALS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 052
INFO RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3517
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MANILA 1183

DEPT FOR ASST SECTY NEWSOM

WHITE HOUSE FOR DR. KISSINGER, DR. JEAN MAYER AND ROGER MORRIS
LAGOS FOR AMBASSADOR TRUEHEART FROM DR. LATHAM

REF: LAGOS 1371; 1485

1. GRATEFUL YOUR CABLES RECEIVED YESTERDAY. I CANNOT FULLY CONCUR WITH STATEMENT THAT NO GENERALIZED STARVATION FAMINE EXISTS. SIGNIFICANT PREVALENCE OF FAMINE EDEMA, OF KWASHIORKOR INDICATED BY ALL CHILDREN WITH EDEMA AND WASTING, OF NUTRITIONAL MARASMUS AND OF WEIGHT LOSS IN ADULTS AND CHILDREN, PLUS FAILURE TO DELIVER ADEQUATE FOOD TO VILLAGES AND HOMES MUST IN MY JUDGMENT AND THAT OF DR. MAYER INDICATE GRAVE SITUATION REQUIRING URGENT AND EARLY ACTION IF HIGH MORTALITY IS TO BE AVOIDED. APPRECIATE DIFFICULTY OF CONVEYING THIS TO NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND HEALTH MINISTRY.

2. KNOWN 1700 CHILDREN WITH SEVERE KWASHIORKOR AND MARASMUS AT OKPORO AND PORT HARCOURT PLUS MANY IN OTHER HOSPITALS TOTALING PERHAPS 10,000 HOSPITALIZED CHILDREN IN ENTIRE AREA. JELLIFFE ANY MANY AUTHORITIES ESTIMATE 20 PER CENT MORTALITY SUGGESTING 4,000 DEATHS.

3. SUGGEST ACCURATE FIGURES BE OBTAINED OF CHILDREN IN SICK BAYS. I WAS INFORMED BY RED CROSS OF 100 SICK BAYS IN ORLU AREA ALONE WITH AVERAGE 70 CHILDREN IN EACH ALL WITH SEVERE PROTEIN-CALORIE MALNUTIRITON. I ESTIMATE 20,000 CHILDREN IN SICK BAYS IN ENCLAVE RECEIVING FOOD BUT MINIMUM MEDICAL ATTENTION. IF MORTALITY 20 PER CENT EQUALS 4,000 POSSIBLE DEATHS.

4. MORTALITY CAN ALSO BE EXPECTED IN MALNOURISHED CHILDREN SEEN IN HOUSEHOLDS AND NOT RECEIVING FOOD OR MEDICAL ATTENTION. IN ADULTS SIGNIFICANT MORTALITY LIKELY IN THOSE WITH LOSS OF 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF BODY WEIGHT IF FOOD NOT PROVIDED SOON. DANGER EXISTS OF INFECTIONS DISEASE INCLUDING INFLUENZA TAKING HEAVY TOLL.

5. ON BASIS OF THESE CRUDE ESTIMATES PLUS THE EDEMA RATES IN ENCLAVE AREAS SURVEYED BY ME AND VERBAL STATEMENT THAT LYTHCOTT HAD SIMILAR EDEMA RATES IN HIS AREA I BELIEVE IT INACCURATE TO REPORT THAT RESULTS FAIL TO SHOW THAT GENERALIZED STARVATION AND FAMINE EXISTS IN SURVEY AREA. HISTORY SHOWS THAT STARVATION AND FAMINES ARE SELDOM MANIFESTED BY BODIES OF THE DEAD STREWN IN VILLAGES AND STREETS, AND FOR THIS REASON MEDICAL AND OTHER OBSERVERS OFTEN MINIMIZE A GRAVE SITUATION. JUDGMENT SHOULD THEREFORE BE BASED ON EDEMA RATES AND WEIGHT LOSS BECAUSE ACCURATE MORTALITY STATISTICS UNAVAILABLE.

6. MY DETAILED REPORT SUBMITTED FOR TYPING TO EMBASSY HERE MONDAY MORNING SHOULD BE READY FOR DISPATCH IN POUCH TODAY.
BYROADE
BT

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE HCE605

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01216 031702Z

52
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28 SR-01
ORM-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
RSR-01 /147 W
---------- 044708

P 031620Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1417
INFO AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 1216

SUBJECT: EXPULSION OF MISSIONARIES

REF: LAGOS 1182

1. THIRTY-TWO CATHOLIC FATHERS ARRIVED MID-DAY FEB 3 AT LAGOS AIRPORT ON NIGERIAN MILITARY PLANE PRIOR TO DEPORTATION. INCLUDED IN THE GROUP WAS ONE AMERICAN, FATHER HORKIN, WHO PLANS TO PROCEED TO LONDON ON FIRST AVAILABLE PLANE. ACCORDING TO INFORMATION FROM EMBOFF STILL AT AIRPORT, THE BALANCE OF THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES ARE NOW ASSEMBLED IN PORT HARCOURT AND WILL BE TRIED THERE TOMORROW.

2. IT IS BEILIEVED THAT THIS GROUP WILL LIKEWISE BE BROUGHT TO LAGOS FOR DEPORTATION PROVIDED THERE IS NOT TOO MUCH ADVERSE PUBLICITY. THE MISSIONARIES WHO HAVE ARRIVED ARE BEING RELEASED IN THE CUSTODY OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF LAGOS AND ARE BEING PUT UP AT AIRPORT HOTEL. SISTER (DOCTOR) VIVIAN VOTUVRA IS PRESENTLY WITH THE GROUP TO BE TRIED IN PORT HARCOURT. SISTER JEAN ADAMS, ALSO AMCIT,

LEFT THAT AREA AND IS PRESENTLY WORKING IN IKOM IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN STATE (FIRST DIVISION AREA) AND FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST IS IN NO DIFFICULTY.

3. COMMENT: DEPORTATION ACTION BEING SHIELDED FROM PRESS. WE HAVE BEEN WARNED BY FRIENDLY POLICE COMMISSIONER THAT PREMATURE DISCLOSURE TO PRESS MIGHT CAUSE DIFFICULTIES FOR BALANCE OF MISSIONARIES FACING TRIAL.
TRUEHEART

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 01162 021710Z

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ACTION AF-07

1970 FEB 2 17 34Z

INFO OCT-01 NSC-10 NSCE-00 SS-10 /028 W

037891

R 021630Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1376

UNCLAS LAGOS 1162

PASS (1) DR. JEAN MAYER, WHITE HOUSE

(2) DR. KISSINGER, WHITE HOUSE

DR. LATHAM ARRIVING NEW YORK PAN AM FLIGHT 151 AT
3:30 A.M. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6 TO REPORT AND PLANS
LEAVE WASHINGTON FOR MANILA NOON SATURDAY 7 FEBRUARY.
RESERVE HOTEL ROOM FEBRUARY 6.
TRUEHEART

UNCLASSIFIED

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 091

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01124 011146Z

16
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
---------- 033090

P 011120Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1349

2

S E C R E T LAGOS 1124

EXDIS

REF: STATE 15471

1. AYIDA AND OBASANJO BOTH LEFT FOR PORT HARCOURT THIS MORNING, ALONG WITH LYTHCOTT AND MEDICAL SURVEY TEAM, RUSER, KENNEDY, AND MITHOEFER. FULL REPLY REFTEL WILL AWAIT THEIR RETURN AT MIDWEEK.

2. COL BYERLY IS ALSO ON SAME PLANE AND WILL BE DISCUSSING C-141 FLIGHTS WITH AYIDA AND OBASANJO, BOTH OF WHOM HAVE BEEN BRIEFED ON HIS MISSION.

3. WE ARE NOT INCLINED AT THIS POINT TO THINK RIVALRY BETWEEN AYIDA AND OBASANJO IS LIKELY PROSPECT, BUT WILL OF COURSE KEEP ON THE ALERT. GP-3
TRUEHEART

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'70 JAN 30 PM 4:15

JAN 30 14 34 '70

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WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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OO YEKADN

DE YEKADL 3334 0301947

O 301809Z ZYH

FM LAGOS
TO STATE/RCI

ZEM
S E C R E T 301809Z JAN 70 CITE LAGOS 339

IMMEDIATE
FOR ABRAMOVITZ FROM RUSER

FOR GOOD ACCOUNT OF HOW SITUATION LOOKS TO EXPERIENCED OBSERVER IN THE FIELD, RECOMMEND UNDER SECRTARY BE SHOWN TELECON BETWEEN DR. LOWENSTEIN (ON ASSIGNMZNT FROM CDC) SPEAKING FROM ABA AND DR. MILLER ASSIGNED TO NRC IN LAGOS (REF: LAGOS ITEM 0493).

S E C R E T

DECLASSIFIED

NNNNVZCZCKOA2Ø9SPA521 *****

OO YEKADN
DE YEKADL 3335 Ø3Ø195Ø

O 3Ø1832Z ZYH

FM LAGOS
TO STATE/RCI

ZEM
S E C R E T 3Ø1832Z JAN 7Ø CITE LAGOS 34Ø

IMMEDIATE

FOR ABRAMOVITZ FROM RUSER

RE UNACCEPTABILITY OF DR. TAYLOR TO MOHAMMED OF NRC (SEE EMBTEL).

WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT TAYLOR MATTER SHOULD BE PRESSED IN VIEW OF IMPORTANCE OF SURVEY MISSION UNDER NRC SPONSORSHIP.

DR. LYTHCOTT CAN USE DR. TAYLOR PROFITABLY IN LAGOS COLLATING DATA AND PREPARING REPORT AS INFO FED IN FROM FIELD. SHE ALSO CAN BE HELPFUL IN PRESENTING DATA IN WASHINGTON. YOU SHOULD WEIGH, HOWEVER, RISKS OF HER REMAINING HERE VERY LONG, NOW THAT FMG AWARE OF HER PRESENCE.

S E C R E T

JAN 30 14 55 '70

1

NNNNVZCZCKOA207SPA519 *****

OO YEKADN
DE YEKADL 3333 0301944

O 301837Z ZYH

FM LAGOS

TO STATE/RCI

ZEM

S E C R E T 301837Z JAN 70 CITE SCLAGOS 341
FOR ABRAMOVITZ FROM RUSER

WE ARRANGED MEETING OF MEDICAL SERVEY TEAM WITH THE THREE EMBASSY OFFICIERS WHO AUTHORED THE REPORTS ON CONDITIONS IN EAST WHICH YOU RECEIVED TODAY. DOCTORS QUESTIONED THE TRAVELERS AT LENGTH. VIEW OF MEDICAL SURVEY TEAM MEMBERS WAS THAT (A) THE IMPROVED RDER IN THE AREA WOULD BE GREAT HELP IN DISCOVERING AND MEETING RELIEF NEEDS AND (B) THE REPORTS HAVE NO MEDICAL SIGIFICANCE AND SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE USED AS BASES FOR ASSESSING CONDITION OF POPULATION, FOOD NEEDS OR TONNAGES RELIEF SUPPLIES REQUIRED.

S E C R E T

JAN 30 14 53 '70

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 620

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01081 301800Z

45
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
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O 301710Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1306

S E C R E T LAGOS 1081

SUBJ: OBASANJO AND RELIEF

REF: LAGOS 1001

EXDIS

1. EVENING 29 JAN OBASANJO TELEPHONED MITHOEFER AND STARTED CONVERSATION BY COMMENTING THAT HE HAD SEEN ALISON AYIDA AND LATTER VERY UPSET BY AMERICAN INTERVENTION USE ULI FOR RELIEF FLIGHTS. OBASANJO INDICATED WE HAD MADE OUR POINT AND IN ROUNDABOUT WAY SUGGESTED WE SHOULD NOT PERSIST. MITHOEFER SUGGESTED THAT PROBLEM WOULD ONLY DISAPPEAR IF SUFFICIENT RELIEF REACHED OWERRI AND OTHER EMERGENCY POINTS OR IF ANOTHER SURVEY WERE TO RESULT IN MODIFICATION WESTERN RE PORT
CONCLUSIONS. OBASANJO SAID FURTHER CONVERSATIONS ON SUBJECT COULD TAKE PLACE DURING VISIT PH.

2. MITHOEFER SAID IMPOSSIBLE OBTAIN SPACE COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS AND INFORMATION WAS THAT CHARTER FLIGHTS NOT ALLOWED. OBASANJO SAID HE TRYING LAY ON FOKKER FRIENDSHIP AS ALISON AYIDA AND PARTY GOING PH. MITHOEFER SAID THAT SEVERAL CDC EXPERTS ALSO WISHED MAKE TRIP AND OBASANJO PROMISED MAKE SPACE AVAILABLE.

3. OBASANJO AGAIN INQUIRED ABOUT GOING TO US AND HE TOLD THAT FEELING
WAS THAT HE TOO VALUABLE MAN TO SPARE UNTIL RELIEF PROBLEM OVERCOME. HE REPLIED THAT HE HAD SUGGESTED NAME OF SUCCESSOR UT CO THIRD DIVISION AND RECEIVED SIMILAR RESPONSE FROM GOWOMP. ALL HE WANTED TO

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
'70 JAN 30 PM 4:28

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SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 01081 301800Z

KNOW WAS WHETHER OR NOT VISIT TO US POSSIBLE WHEN HE ABLE MAKE TRIP. COMMENT: ONE MIGHT ASK WHY OBASANJO WILLING TO GIVE UP HIS COMMAND AND WAR HERO POSITION AT THIS TIME. EXPLANATION SEEMS TO BE THAT HE IS NOT AN EMPIRE BUILDER AND THAT HE WILL SOON BE NAMED NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF RECONSTRUCTION. ENGINEERING IS HIS FIRST LOVE.

4. OBASANJO HAS SORTED OUT PROCUREMENT PROCEDURES WITH AYIDA. RESULT IS AYIDA WILL INITIATE REQUESTS BUT EVERYTHING OBASANJO REQUESTS WILL BE FORWARDED. HE AWARE SOME ITEMS ALREADY REQUESTED. WHEN ASKED IF HIS HAVING ALREADY RAISED MATTER WITH US WAS DISCUSSED WITH AYIDA, OBASANJO SAID "NO!" THIS WAS A PERSONAL MATTER IN ORDER ASCERTAIN WHAT TYPE ASSISTANCE U.S. PREPARED TO GIVE BEFORE HE INFORMED AYIDA.

5. COMMENT: MITHOEFER OVERHEARD TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN AYIDA AND OBASANJO AT 1215 IN WHICH OBASANJO SAID HE THOUGHT AYIDA SHOULD SPEND ALL OF HIS TIME PROCESSING REQUESTS AND LEAVE FIELD TRIPS TO SUBORDINATES. APPEARS AS IF CONTRARY OBASANJO ADVISE AYIDA HAS DECIDED MAKE HIS FIRST POST WAR TRIP TO ENCLAVE TO "SEE THINGS FOR HIMSELF." MAKING TEN SEATS AVAILABLE ON CHARTER FLIGHT WILL ENABLE US TO GET CDC TEAM AND ANY OTHERS WHO MAY BE OF ASSISTANCE OBTAINING MORE ACCURATE INFORMATION PRESENT SITUATION INTO ENCLAVE. USAID REPORT ON FOLLOW-UP MEETING AIMED AT DIVERTING OBASANJO REQUESTS INTO PROPER CHANNEL BEING SENT SEPTEL. GP-1.
TRUEHEART

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 103

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01032 291852Z

42
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
---------- 018060

O 291755Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1276

S E C R E T LAGOS 1032

EXDIS

REF: STATE 13811

1. WE HAVE NOW BRIEFED THOSE IN FMG WHO WE CONSIDER HAVE MAJOR INFLUENCE RELIEF DECISIONS ON THE WESTERN REPORT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS. THESE INCLUDE AYIDA, CHIEF JUSTICE ADEMOLA, KEY OFFICIALS IN MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND NRC, PLUS COMMANDER OF THIRD DIVISION AND TOP OFFICIALS IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, DEPUTY PERMSEC CLARK AND CHIEF OF PROTOCOL (IN SEEKING APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON). ALL CONCERNED WERE SKEPTICAL AS TO RELEVANCE OF REPORT TO PRESENT SITUATION.

2. IN CASE OF AYIDA, OBASANJO AND CLARK WE HAVE DIRECTLY URGED IN STRONGEST TERMS IMMEDIATE AIRLIFT INTO ENCLAVE. RESULTS WERE NEGATIVE. THERE IS POSSIBILITY AS EXPLAINED SEPTEL THAT FMG MAY BEGIN TO FLY STRIPS IN ENCLAVE BUT AFTER ADLER'S TALK WITH AYIDA TODAY, I FEAR I MAY HAVE BEEN TOO OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THIS.

3. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT GOWON KNOWS OF OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION AND OUR JUDGMENT THAT IMMEDIATE AIRLIFT IS ESEENTIAL AND THAT THIS VIEW IS HELD AT HIGHEST LEVELS US GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO KNOWS THAT THIS IS WHY I WANT TO SEE HIM AND THAT IS PROBABLY MAJOR REASON HE WILL NOT SEE ME. I THINK THAT AYIDA IS PERFECTLY CORRECT IN SAYING THAT FURTHER PRESSURE ON GOWON WILL NOT INCREASE THE CHANCES OF GETTING AN AIRLIFT BUT HAVE THE OPPOSITE EFFECT. THIS IS ALSO THE

BRITISH VIEW HERE AND, I GATHER, IN LONDON.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 01032 291852Z

4. TO PURSUE THE QUESTION OF AN AIRLIFT EFFECTIVELY EVEN AT LOWER LEVELS, E.G. AYIDA, WE NEED UPDATED MEDICAL EVIDENCE ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE ENCLAVE AREA. HOPEFULLY, WE WILL HAVE AT LEAST A PRELIMINARY MEDICAL ASSESSMENT WITH THE RETURN OF DR CONRAD AND DEWEY TOMORROW. OTHER DOCTORS (TAYLOR, LYTHCOTT, LATHAM) ARE HERE AND READY TO PROCEED TO FIELD AS SOON AS TRANSPORTATION CAN BE ARRANGED.

5. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER SIGNIFICANT THE MEDICAL ASPECTS ARE--THE NON-MEDICAL ASPECTS ARE ALSO IMPORTANT. THESE ARE DISTINCTLY ENCOURAGING, ACCORDING TO THE INDEPENDENT REPORTS (FILLED SEPARATELY) OF THREE EXPERIENCED OBSERVERS FROM THIS MISSION WHO RETURNED LAST NIGHT FROM THE ENCLAVE. THEY SHOW THE 3RD DIVISION BACK UNDER CONTROL, RELIEF OPEARTIONS ACCELERATING AND LIFE GENERALLY RETURNING TO NORMAL. I THINK THAT REALISTICALLY WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT TO OFFSET THESE ADMITTEDLY NON-TECHNICAL IMPRESSIONS, WHICH WE MAY ASSUME ARE ALSO THOSE OF THE NIGERIANS, THE CURRENT MEDICAL EVIDENCE WILL HAVE TO BE STRONG AND VERY CLEAR-CUT.

6. BEFORE RECOMMEDNDING WHERE WE GO FROM HERE, I WOULD THEREFORE LIKE TO SEE DR CONRAD'S PRELIMINARY FINDINGS. GP-2
TRUEHEART

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SECRET 076 02

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ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
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O 291730Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1275

S E C R E T LAGOS 1033

EXDIS

REF: STATE 13811, LAGOS 998

1. ADLER SAW AYIDA AT 1:30 THIS AFTERNOON. HE NOTED THAT DESPITE PERSISTENT EFFORTS OF THE PAST WEEK TO INCREASE FLOW OF RELIEF SUPPLIES THROUGHOUT THE EAST THE LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN GETTING TRUCKS IN SUFFICIENT NUMBERS TO THE AREA WERE SUCH THAT IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT THERE WOULD CONTINUE TO BE A SERIOUS FOOD SHORTAGE IN AT LEAST CERTAIN PARTS OF THE ENCLAVE UNTIL TRUCK FLEET COULD BE BUILT UP. THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE WESTERN REPORT CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF THE REPORTS RECEIVED FROM NIGERIAN RED CROSS TEAMS OPERATING IN THE EAST OF CONTINUED SHORTAGE OF FOOD IN CERTAIN AREAS MAKE OBVIOUS THE NEED FOR EXTRAORDINARY MEANS TO GET FOOD INTO THE AREA AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT TEN DAYS TO TWO WEEKS. ADLER STATED US PREPARED TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT FOR USE TO AIRSTRIPS IN THE ENCLAVE WHICH ARE NOT NOW IN USE OR IF NECESSARY BRING IN PLANKING ON C-130'S WHICH COULD BE USED TO CREATE A NEW EMERGENCY AIRSTRIP ALONG A SECTION OF EXISTING ROAD OR BRING IN A NUMBER OF LARGE CARGO CARRYING HELICOPTERS TO SUPPLY AREA. AYIDA AT FIRST BRISTLED BUT AFTER BEING ASSURED AGAIN THAT OUR ONLY PURPOSE WAS TO HELP FMG MEET WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE AN EXTREMELY CRITICAL SITUATION WHICH MAY RESULT IN WHOLESALE DEATHS IF EXTRAORDINARY MEANS ARE NOT USED FOR THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO HE CALMED DOWN. AFTER FURTHER EXPLANATION OF HOW PIERCED STEEL PLANKING OR HEAVY HELICOPTER COULD BE USED IF EXISTING STRIPS NOT ACCEPTABLE, AYIDA REFLECTED FOR A MONMENT AND REPLIED, "YOU SHOULD TELL THE

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'POLITICAL PEOPLE' THAT THE MORE PRESSURE WHICH IS BROUGHT TO BEAR TO USE THESE AIRFIELDS THE MORE DIFFICULT IT BECOMES TO DO SO." HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE FIELDS AT ULI AND UGA "PROBABLY WOULD HAVE BEEN PUT INTO USE BY THIS TIME IF SO MANY DIFFERENT GROUPS HAD NOT COME TO THE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE PRONOUNCEMENTS ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF NOT AGREEING TO DO SO". AGAIN HE WAS REASSURED THAT OUR INTERESTS WERE TO PROVIDE FOOD NOW FOR THOSE WHO WERE CRITICALLY IN NEED. AFTER BEING ASKED THAT HE CONSIDER ALL THE ALTERNATIVES AND ASSURED OF AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE TO ANY REQUEST FOR SUCH ASSISTANCE HE SAID HE WOULD LET ADLER KNOW IF SUCH HELP WAS WANTED.

2. AYIDA ASKED THAT USAID KEEP THE TRUCKS COMING IN BY AIR. HE SAID THAT HE AND EBONG, PER SEC MIN OF TRANSPORT, HAD REQUISITIONED A NIGERIAN SHIPPING LINE VESSEL YESTERDAY WHICH WAS THEN LOADED WITH TRUCKS AND OTHER RELIEF EQUIPMENT AND DISPATCHED TO PORT HARCOURT. HE SAID THEY NOW HAD EXTRAORDINARY POWERS AND THAT THEY INTENDED TO USE THEM TO REQUISITION SHIPPING AND OTHER FACILITIES WHICH MIGHT BE NEEDED.

3. COMMENT: AT NO TIME DID AYIDA ATTEMPT TO REFUTE THE FACT THAT THERE WERE POCKETS OF CRITICAL NEED IN THE EAST. HE REFERRED TO HIS EARLIER REQUEST FOR SIX AIRCRAFT AT LEAST TO ENUGU AND PORT HARCOURT. EXCEPT FOR VERY FEW MOMENTS AFTER HE FIRST REALIZED THE PURPOSE OF THE VISIT HE WAS FRIENDLY AND SINCERE IN HIS MANNER. UNDOUBTEDLY HE WILL REPORT THIS CONVERSATION TO DODAN BARRACKS. GP-1
TRUEHEART

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 UCF-05 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 IO-13

RSR-01 /142 W

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O P 291255Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1253
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USUN NEW YORK 1433

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 1005/1

SUBJ: REPORT OF TRIP THROUGH EASTERN SECTOR OF "BIAFRAN" ENCLAVE", 25-28 JANUARY 1970

REF: LAGOS 990

1. THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS FIRST OF THREE EYEWITNESS REPORTS (FARRELL'S) MENTIONED REFTEL. OTHERS FOLLOW. EMBASSY COMMENTING IN SEPARATE MESSAGE ON ALL THREE REPORTS.

2. ROUTE TRAVELLED: ENUGU, ULI, ONITSHA, NNEWI, OZUBULU, IHIALA, ULI, ORLU (INIOMA), ISLEKE, USULA-ILHASIAFOR, ORLU, OWERRI, EMEKUKU, OWERRI, ABA, PORT HARCOURT.

3. DURING THE TRIP OUTLINED ABOVE, THE REPORTING OFFICER SEPARATED FROM ANOTHER EMBASSY OFFICER AND A USAID OFFICIAL, AND TRAVELLED ALONE THROUGH THE ROUTE OUTLINED ABOVE, BY HITCH-HIKING WITH RELIEF TRUCKS, RED CROSS VEHICLES, POLICE VANS AND LOCAL "BIAFRAN" VEHICLES.

4. IN GENERAL, I WAS EXTREMELY SURPRISED THAT THE PORTION OF THE ENCLAVE VISITED WAS IN SUCH GOOD SHAPE, SINCE I HAD EXPECTED TO SEE MUCH MORE DEVASTATION THROUGHOUT THE

SECTOR WHICH WAS THE LAST AREA TO FALL TO FEDERAL FORCES. KEY POINTS THAT WERE NOTED BY PERSONAL OBSERVATION AND IN CONVERSATIONS WITH AT LEAST 75 PEOPLE WHO INCLUDED IBOS FROM VARIOUS WALKS OF LIFE, FEDERAL TROOPS AND OFFICERS, AND NIGERIAN POLICE OFFICERS OF ALL RANKS, AS WELL AS EXPATRIATE RELIEF WORKERS WERE:

A. THERE IS NO STATE OF VIOLENCE, GREAT TENSION, OR FEAR IN THE AREA. THE IBO CIVILIANS AND EX-MILITARY PERSONNEL ARE MIXING FREELY AND PEACEFULLY WITH THE TROOPS AND FEDERAL POLICE IN THE ENCLAVE.

B. THE POLICE HAVE TAKEN OVER THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAS AND ORDER. ONLY A FEW TROOPS WERE SEEN ARMED IN THE ENCLAVE, AND MOST TROOPS SEEN WERE STROLLING ALONG THE ROADS OR IN LOOSELY GROUPED STAGING AREAS. ROAD BLOCKS AND CHECKPOINTS, WHICH WERE ENCOUNTERED FREQUENTLY THROUGHOUT THE ARE, WERE MANNED MAINLY BY BOTH ARMED POLICE AND TROOPS.

C. THE RELIEF TEAMS ARE JUST BEGINNING TO BECOME FULLY ORGANIZED AND FOOD SUPPLIES ARE BEING BROUGHT INTO THE MORE CRITICAL AREAS IN QUANTITIES SUFFICIENT TO PRECLUDE MASS STARVATION. ROAD TRANSPORT APPEARS TO BE ONE OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS FACING THE RELIEF TEMS AND DURING THE TRIP THE AVAILABILITY OF VEHICLES VARIED GREATLY FROM ONE RELIEF CENTER TO ANOTHER. THE NUMBER OF EX-BIAFRAN TRUCKS BEING USED IN RELIEF WORK WAS SURPRISING AND LOCAL IBOS ARE BEING EMPLOYED BY THE NRC IN LOADING AND DISTRIBUTING FOOD FROM THE NRC CENTERS. THESE IBOS ARE PRESENTLY BEING PAID IN FOOD.

D. THERE IS A DEFINITE NEED FOR MORE PUBLIC TRNSPORT, I.E. TRUCKS TO MOVE THE REFUGEES BACK TO THEIR HOME TOWNS. THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES WERE OBSERVED WALKING ALONG THE ROADS, WHILE MANY WERE BEING TRANSPORTED ON RELIEF TRUCKS RETURNING TO THEIR FOOD WAREHOUSING AREAS. THE POPULATION MOVING ALONG THE ROADS APPEARED TO BE IN FAIRLY GOOD CONDITION AND WERE GENERALLY CARRYING THEIR PERSONAL POSSESSIONS. NRC REFUGEE FEEDING POINTS WERE SET UP IN MOST OF THE MAJOR TOWNS AND VILLAGES VISITED.

E. THE IBO POPULATION DOES NOT FEAR EXTERMINATION, AND

ALL THE IBOS INTERVIEWED ALONG THE WAY STATED THAT ALMOST EVERYONE HAS COME OUT OF THE "BUSH". THE TROOPS OF THE 1ST DIVISION WERE OBSERVED SHARING THEIR RATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE IN THEIR AREA AND THEY WERE WELL DISCIPLINED.

F. THERE WERE, IN THE FIRST SEVERAL DAYS AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE BIAFRAN FORCES, MANY CASES OF RAPE AND LOOTING CARRIED OUT BY THE TROOPS OF THE 3RD MARINE COMMANDO DIVISION IN THE AREA AS FAR NORTH AS IHIALA. ACCORDING TO SEVERAL SOURCES (IBOS INCLUDED), LOOTING BY THE TROOPS WAS FOLLOWED UP BY LOOTING BY THE IBOS THEMSELVES. AT THIS POINT, THE 1ST DIVISION TROOPS HAVE BEEN MOVED FARTHER SOUTH TO BELOW ORLU AND THE 3RD MARINE COMMANDO DIVISION HAS BEEN MOVED BACK TO OWERRI. ONE GETS THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT THE 3RD MARINE COMMANDO DIVISION IS A LESS DISCIPLINED UNIT THAN THE 1ST DIVISION. THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE IN THE AREA UNDER THEIR CONTROL, ALTHOUGH CORRECT, IS NOT AS CLOSE AS THAT OF THE 1ST DIVISION TROOPS.

G. THE IBOS WHO WERE IN THE CIVIL SERVICE AND WITH PRIVATE COMPANIES ARE REGISTERING IN WHEREEVER POSSIBLE AND ARE ANXIOUS TO GET BACK TO "NORMAL" AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE FOR THE EAST CENTRAL STATE ESTIMTES THAT ABOUT 4,000 IBO POLICE HAVE REPORTED BACK FOR DUTY. MANY OF THESE IBO POLICE WERE OBSERVED WORKING WITH THE 12 FEDERAL POLICE UNITS WHICH WERE MOVED INTO THE ENCLAVE AFTER THE SUDDEN COLLAPSE OF THE BIAFRAN FORCES. VARIOUS ESTIMATES WERE GIVEN BY DIFFERENT SOURCES ON THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE "ENCLAVE" AND IN AVERAGING THE FIGURES, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT ABOUT ONE MILLION IBOS HAVE

GP-4

TRUEHEART

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 01005 02 OF 02 291452Z 1970 JAN 29 16 02Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 UCF-05 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 IO-13

SCA-01 SCS-04 RSR-01 /147 W

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O P 291255Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1254
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USUN NEW YORK 1434

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 1005

SUBJ: REPORT OF TRIP THROUGH EASTERN SECTOR OF "BIAFRAN" ENCLAVE", 25-28 JANUARY 1970

REF: LAGOS 990

MOVED OUT OF THE ENCLAVE, WHILE SOMEWHAT OVER TWO MILLION STILL REMAIN THERE.

H. THE PHYSICAL DAMAGE IN THE AREA TRAVELLED VARIED GREATLY FROM ONE MAJOR TOWN TO ANOTHER. HOWEVER, APART FROM ONITSHA MARKET WHICH WAS HIT VERY HARD, MOST OF THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES IN THE LARGER TOWNS AND VILLAGES WERE RELATIVELY UNTOUCHED, EXCEPT FOR BROKEN WINDOWS AND BULLET SCARS. IF ONE COULD VENTURE A GENERAL AVERAGE, COMPLETE PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION IN THE AREA WAS ONLY ABOUT 10 PERCENT. THE ROADS ARE IN GOOD SHAPE AND THE SECTIONS WHICH WERE DUG OUT OR BLOWN UP, MAINLY EAST AND SOUTH OF ONITSHA, HAVE BEEN FILLED IN AND ARE PASSABLE. THERE WAS NO STRUCTURAL DAMAGE TO "BIAFRAN" HOSPITALS SEEN AT OZUBULU, IHIALA AND EMEKUKU; ALTHOUGH THESE HOSPITALS NEED ADDITIONAL BEDS, MEDICINES AND EQUIPMENT. ALMOST ALL THE BRIDGES IN THE AREA WERE DESTROYED AND HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY TEMPORARY BRIDGES CONSTRUCTED BY THE ARMY

ENGINEERS, AND THESE BRIDGES WERE ABLE TO SUPPORT THE FULLY LOADED RED CROSS TRUCKS. ULI AIRSTRIP WAS IN EXCELLENT SHAPE APART FROM A FEW SHELL HOLES OR BOMB CRATERS WHICH COULD BE EASILY REPAIRED. THE SURFACE OF THIS AIRSTRIP WAS ACTUALLY IN BETTER SHAPE THAN THE STRIPS IN ENUGU AND PORT HARCOURT. THERE WAS A SURPRISING NUMBER OF BIAFRAN-REGISTERED VZHICLES IN OPERATION, SSPECIALLY IN THE AREA CLOSE TO ENUGU. THE CONDITION OF THESE VEHICLES WAS GENERALLY GOOD, IN FACT MOST LOOKED LIKE THEY WERE IN BETTER SHAPE THAN THE AVERAGE NIGERIAN-OWNED VEHICLES IN LAGOS(#) MILDREN WERE PART OF A
GROUP OF APPROXIMATELY 500 THAT WERE BROUGHT IN AFTER THE ENCLAVE WAS OVERRUN. THESE WERE THE MOST EXTREME CASES OF MALNUTRITION OBSERVED, AND IT WAS CLEAR THAT THEY HAD BEEN ON A STARVATION DIET FOR SOME MONTHS. CONTRARY TO PRESS REPORTS, THESE CHILDREN WERE CARED FOR IMMEDIATELY UPON THEIR ARRIVAL AT PORT HARCOURT AND THEY ARE GETTING THE BEST POSSIBLE CARE UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. UNFORTUNATELY, THESE CHILDREN WERE TRAPPED IN A SMALL POCKET AND WERE UNABLE TO GET FOOD AND MEDICAL AID UNTIL THE AREA THEY WERE IN WAS OPENED UP. DR SPIFF, WHO IS IN CHARGE OF THE CLINIC, HAS AN ADEQUATE STAFF TO HANDLE THE IMMEDIATE SITUATION WHICH IS IMPROVING EACH DAY. HOWEVER, A HIGH PROPORTION OF THESE CHILDREN WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE AFFECTED FOR LIFE. THIS WAS THE ONE STRIKINGLY TRAGIC REALITY OBSERVED OF A TRAGIC WAR.

5. CONSULAR MATTERS REGARDING AMERICAN PERSONNEL WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A SEPARATE REPORT. INCLUDED IN THIS REPORT WILL BE A LISTING OF NAMES RECORDED AT THE GRAVEYARD WHERE THE JCA CREWS, WHO LOST THEIR LIVES DURING THE AIRLIFT, WERE BURIED. SEVERAL OF THESE DECEASED WERE AMERICAN NATIONALS. GP-4
TRUEHEART

NOTE: (#) APPARENT OMISSION.
CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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46-42
ACTION UCF-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 UF-05 IO-04 EUR-12 PM-03 NSC-10 NSCE-00

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O P 291210Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1251
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK 1431

S E C R E T LAGOS 1001

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION

1. NIGHT JANUARY 28 MITHOEFER HAD CONVERSATIONS LASTING OVER FOUR HOURS WITH COL. OBASANJO, GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING THIRD MARINE COMMANDO AND CHIEF NIGERIAN ARMY ENGINEERS. SUMMARY CONTAINED THIS TELEGRAM WITH DETAILS TO FOLLOW.

2. RELIEF: OBASANJO CLAIMED HE NOT AWARE ANY STARVATION AREAS UNDER HIS CONTROL AS THERE NO FOOD SHORTAGE. ESTIMATED TOTAL ONE MILLION BEING FED WITHIN HIS SECTOR. HIS OWN TROOPS FEEDING OVER 100,000. INVITED RUSER TEAM "SEE FOR ITSELF" UND AGREED TO JANUARY 29 BRIEFING WESTERN REPORT. HE HOLDING RELIEF COORDINATION MEETING AT OWERRI FEBRUARY 3 TO WHICH RUSER TEAM INVITED. HE SAID TRANSPORT SHORTAGE BEING OVERCOME WHILE MEDICAL PERSONNEL AND DRUG SITUATIONS IMPROVING.

3. RECONSTRUCTION: OBASANJO HAS BEEN INFORMED ORALLY BY PERMSEC DEFENSE (GOBIR) THAT HE TO BE APPOINTED IN CHARGE NIGERIAN RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM. LOGICALLY THIS WOULD MEAN AYIDA CONTROL PLANNING AND MECHANICS OF BRINGING FORWARD PROJECTS WHILE OBASANJO CARRIED OUT PROJECTS.

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RM PROJECT ASSISTANCE: OBASANJO INDICATED HE PUT TOP PRIORITY ON GETTING LIFE BACK TO NORMAL. THIS MEANT HOUSING BEFORE RAINS CAME TO DESTROYED VILLAGE, MOVING TROOPS OUT OF SCHOOLS INTO QUARTERS AND BUILDING NEW SCHOOLS WHERE OLD DESTROYED. HE SAID HE HAD PROMISED OPEN SCHOOLS IN FEBRUARY. HE ASKED IF U.S. "IN PRINCIPLE" WILLING PROVIDE

PREFAB DORMITORY HOUSING FOR 150,000 (HALF CIVILIAN, QUARTER ARMY AND REST SCHOOLS). WISHES REBUILD ONITSHA MARKET WHICH REQUIRES APPROX 1,440,000 SQ FT, PLASTIC ROOFING AND SOME SORT LIGHT ALLOY, PLASTIC OR WOOD STRUCTURES FOR ABA, OWERRI AND P.H. MARKETS. HE INDICATED FORTY UNITS BAILEY BRIDGING WERE
SUFFICIENT MEET ALL PRESENT BRIDGING DIFFICULTIES. REQUESTED SIX WHEELED BULLDOZERS (S575 & S590), SIX GRADERS (LIGHT), FOUR ASPHALT SPREADERS AND FOUR PORTABLE WORKSHOPS. WANTS RESURFACE PH, ENUGU AND CALABAR RUNWAYS AND THEN USE EQUIPMENT FOR REBUILDING WAR EFFECTED ROADS. HE WOULD LIKE USE U.S. ARMY TRAINING AIDS FOR RETRAINING HIS DIVISION. REQUESTED FOUR WATER PUMPS FOR RESTORATION P.H. WATER SUPPLY AND FOUR WATER SUPPLY UNITS FOR HOSPITALS. HE ALSO MADE A PLEA FOR PEACE CORPS. AFTER PRELIMINARY INDICATION OF WHAT U.S. WILLING TO DO IN PRINCIPLE, OBASANJO WILL SUBMIT REQUESTS THROUGH NORMAL CHANNELS.

5. VISIT TO U.S.: OBASANJO SAID HE WOULD LIKE VISIT UNITED STATES FOR PERIOD FROM TWO TO SIX WEEKS AS SOON AFTER FEBRUARY 15 US POSSIBLE IN ORDER ACQUAINT HIMSELF RELIEF, RECONSTRUCTION, CIVIC ACTION AND TRAINING.

6. REORGANIZATION: HE CURRENTLY ORGANIZING RETRAINING HIS DIVISIONS. HAS SHIFTED HIS SUBORDINATES IN DIVISION AND PUT HIS EIGHT BRIGADES OF 40,000 MEN IN FOUR GARRISON AREAS CENTERED AT ABA, OWERRI, IKOT EKPENE AND P.H. OCCUPATION ZONES ARE ON LINE DRAWN SOUTH TOWNS IHIALIA, ORLU, UAAHALIA, BENDE, AROCHUKU. FIRST DIVISION CONTROLS TOWNS AND THIRD CONTROLS ALL AREAS SOUTH. HE SHIFTING ALL ENGINEERS, SUBSTANTIVE RANK MAJOR OR ABOVE FEBRUARY 1 IN ORDER GET RID THEIR EMPIRES PRIOR RECONSTRUCTION.

7. NIGERIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS: THERE WERE NO REAL PROBLEMS NOW THAT WAR OVER WITH. HE NOTED UNITED STATES LUCKY THAT GOWON "HAS TREMENDOUS ABILITY WITHSTAND PRESSURES" US SOME SENIOR

PERM SECTYS (UNNAMED) HAD TRIED PUSH NIGERIA CLOSER TO RUSSIA AND GOWON HAS RESISTED.

8. ILLEGAL ENTRY: HE SAID ON RECOMMENDATION OF M.D. YUSUFU (POLICE COMMISSIONER IN CHARGE SECURITY) ALL PERSONS WHO ENTERED COUNTRY ILLEGALLY WOULD BE INVITED TO APPEAR BEFORE MAGISTRATE AND THOSE FOUND GUILTY WOULD BE SENTENCED TO FINES OR IMPRISONMENT. THOSE IMPRISONED, HOWEVER, WILL BE PARDONED BY GOWON AND ASKED LEAVE COUNTRY. OTHERS, UFTER PAYING THEIR FINES, WILL BE PERMITTED DO AS THEY WISH. REVIEW OF THESE CASES BEGAN JAN 27.

9. SMBASSY COMMENT: INFORMATION CONTAINED ABOVE MUST BE KEPT IN CONFIDENCE OR WE RISK JEOPARDIZING IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP. MANY OF THE RECONSTRUCTION REQUIREMENTS MENTIONED BY OBASANJO IN PARA FOUR ABOVE HAVE ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED WITH AYIDA AND WE WILL SORT MATTER OUT HERE.
TRUEHEART

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 484

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ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
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O 290950Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1249

S E C R E T LAGOS 998

EXDIS

REF: STATE 13811

1. WE WERE UNABLE TO REACH AYIDA YESTERDAY AND ADLER HAS JUST BEEN INFORMED THAT AYIDA IS NOW AT DONDAN BARRACKS, WILL BE THERE ALL DAY, AND HE WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR MEETING WITH HIM.

2. WE PRESUME FROM THIS THAT A MAJOR HIGH LEVEL MEETING ON RELIEF IS UNDER WAY.

3. WE WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO GET TO AYIDA INCLUDING AT HOME TONIGHT.

4. ENTIRE DIPLOMATIC CORPS HAS BEEN CALLED TO MEET WITH GOWON AT 11:00 A.M. SUBJECT NOT STATED BUT MOST LIKELY IT IS RELIEF AND ROLE OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

5. LABOUISSE HAS APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON AT 12:30 TODAY. GP-2.
TRUEHEART

'70 JAN 29 AM 11:41
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 SUR-20 IO-13 ORM-03 SR-01 AID-28 CCO-00
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O R 271930Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1213
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 940

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: INTERNAL AIRLIFT

REF: STATE 12506

1. WHILE NIGERIAN AVIATION AUTHORITIES STILL CONTEND PORT HARCOURT AND ENUGU NOT CAPABLE SUSTAINING C-130 LOADS. BELIEVE RECENT TRANSALL LANDING ENUGU CONVINCING EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE TO CONTRARY. REAL PROBLEM IS THAT UNLESS CLEARANCE GRANTED TO FLY RELIEF CARGO TO CENTRAL AIRFIELDS, 3.G. UGA OR OBILAGO, C-130 NOT AS APPROPRIATE AN AIRCRAFT AS DC-6 OR DC-4 FOR IN-COUNTRY AIRLIFT MISSION. PRESENT MISSION ENVIASAGES MILK RUN LINK BETWEEN LAGOS, ENUGU, AND P.H. WITH COMBINED LOADS OF PASSENGERS, MAIL, SPARE PARTS, COMMISSARY ITEMS AND HIGH PRIORITY RELIEF NEEDS SUCH AS MEDICINE. DC-6 OR DC-4 AIRCRAFT ADEQUATE FOR THIS AND FAR MORE ECONOMICAL. WHAT IS NEEDED IS MORE FREQUENT TRANSPORT OF SMALLER CARGOES RATHER THAN THE LESS FREQUENT MOVEMENT OF LARGER CARGO LOTS, WHICH THE C-131S COULD PROVIDE.

2. YOU RECALL FRAGFLUG EXPECTED TO LOCATE FOUR DC-6S IN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME, PERHAPS COULD ARRANDE FOR DC-4S AS WELL. IF PROCUREMENT FROM US ORIGIN IS OVERRIDING, THEN WE MIGHT TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE DC-6/C-130 TRADE-OFFS.

EM RE GERMAN TRANSALLS, WE HAVE NO INDICATION AT PRESENT THAT THEY WILL BE USED FOR OTHER THAN OUT-OF-COUNTRY MOVEMENT INTO LAGOS.

4. LICROSS SPONSORSHIP OF IN-COUNTRY AIRLIFT RAISED WITH STANISSIS, BUT NO DEFINITIVE REACTION TO DATE. WE ARE CONCERNED AT EXCESSIOR DELAY LIKELY TO RESULT THIS ROUTE. TRUEHEART

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS PROJECT

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 443

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O 271147Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1192

S E C R E T LAGOS 00910

EXDIS

REF: STATE 11791

1. IN EFFORT TO LAY GROUNDWORK FOR LATER MEETING WITH GOWON, I MET LAST NIGHT FOR ALMOST AN HOUR WITH AYIDA. SOLE OBJECT WAS TO ACQUAINT HIM WITH OUR ASSESSMENT OF POSSIBLE MAGNITUDE OF RELIEF PROBLEM. ONLY IF FMG CAN BE BE BROUGHT TO SHARE OUR VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT, CAN WE EXPECT THEM TO TAKE THE EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE PRUDENT.

2. I FIRST SPOKE TO AYIDA PRIVATELY POINTING OUT THAT MY GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS HAD CONCLUDED THAT A DISASTER OF MAJOR PROPORTIONS MAY BE DEVELOPING IN THE FORMER ENCLAVE AREA. THIS CONCLUSION WAS BASED ON A STUDY UNDERTAKEN IN OCTOBER WITHIN THE ENCLAVE WHICH WE BELIEVE TO HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT SCIENTIFICALLY AND WHICH WAS IN ANY CASE THE ONLY REALLY SOLID BASIS APPILABLE FOR ESTIMATING THE POTENTIAL REQUIREMENTS. I HAD BEEN BRIEFED ON THE REPORT THE NIGHT BEFORE AND PERSONALLY SHARED GRAVE APPREHENSION FELT IN WASHINGTON. WE WOULD BE DERELICT IN NOT BRINGING THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS REPORT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE FMG AND I FELT THAT MY GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT FEEL THAT IT HAD DONE ITS DUTY UNLESS GENERAL GOWON HAD BEEN PERSONALLY BRIEFED. I HOPED THAT I WOULD HAVE AYIDA'S SUPPORT IN ARRANGING A MEETING WITH GOWON.

3. I THEN BROUGHT IN DR. FOEGE WHO GAVE AYIDA THE FULL BRIEFING ON THE WESTERN REPORT, USING THE TRAINING AIDS WITH WHICH I PRESUME DEPARTMENT IS FAMILIAR.

'70 JAN 27 PM 2:40
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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4. AYIDA LISTENED ATTENTIVELY BUT ASKED VERY FEW QUESTIONS AND IT IS VERY HARD TO JUDGE HIS TRUE REACTION. DR. FOEGE AND I FEEL THAT, IF ANYTHING, HE WAS SKEPTICAL, REGARDING THE STUDY AS A STATISTICAL EXERCISE WITH PERHAPS LIMITED RELEVANCE TO PRESENT SITUATION. HOWEVER, I THINK WE MUST GIVE AYIDA TIME TO REFLECT ON THE REPORT, TO CONSULT WITH SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES WHO HAVE BEEN AND ARE BEING SEPARATELY BRIEFEDON THE REPORT (SEE SEPARATE TELEGRAM) AND PARTICULARLY TO BE BRIEFED BY HIS OWN PEOPLE ON CURRENT REPORTS OF EDEMA RATES WHICH BEGAN TO COME IN FROM THE FIELD YESTERDAY AFTERNOON. I AM REASONABLY SURE AYIDA HAD NOT BEEN INFORMED OF THESE WHEN WE TALKED TO HIM.

5. AYIDA'S ONLY SPECIFIC COMMENT ON THE REPORT WAS THAT IT WAS "INTERESTING." HE WENT ON TO DESCRIBE THE FMG "STRATEGY" FOR RELIEF. IT WAS ESSENTIALLY THAT IN THE EASTERN REGION THERE WERE AREAS OF FOOD ABUNDANCE SUCH AS ABA AND AREAS OF DEFICIT SUCH AS OWERRI. BASIC APPROACH WAS TO PROVIDE TRANSPORT AND PURCHASING POWER AND FOOD WOULD BE BROUGHT TO THOSE IN NEEDTHROUGH THE WORKINGS OF NORMAL
COMMERCIAL MECHANISMS. THERE WOULD REMAIN A CERTAIN NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN VERY BAD SHAPE WHO WOULD NEED SPECIAL FEEDING WITH IMPORTED FOODS BUT THIS COULD NOT BE THE GENERAL APPROACH TO THE RELIEF PROBLEM.

6. I POINTED OUT THAT ONE IMPLICATION OF THE WESTERN STUDY WAS THAT THE NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE LAST CATEGORY MIGHT BE VERY MUCH LARGER THAN HE SUPPOSED AND THAT, IF SO, ACTION OF THE MOST URGENT AND MASSIVE CHARACTER WOULD BE REQUIRED TO PREVENT WHOLESALE DEATHS. IN ANY CASE THE ONLY SENSIBLE THING WAS TO PROCEED ON THIS ASSUMPTION UNTIL A FRESH SURVEY COULD BE MADE TO DETERMINE ACTUAL CONDITIONS AT THE PRESENT TIME. AYIDA DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY BUT HE OBVIOUSLY UNDERSTOOD THE POINT, WHETHER OR NOT HE ACCEPTED IT.

7. ALTHOUGH I HAD INTENDED TO PROCEED TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF FLIGHTS TO ULI OR ANOTHER ENCLAVE AIRSTRIP AND HAD A PAPER WITH ME EXPLAINING THE LOGISTIC ADVANTAGES, I DECIDED IT WOULD NOT BE WISE TO DO SO AT THAT TIME. GIVEN

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AYIDA'S APPARENT REACTION, I AM SURE HE WOULD HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE WHOLE BRIEFING WAS SIMPLY A PITCH TO GET THEM TO OPEN ULI.

8. WITH REGARD TO BRIEFING OTHER PEOPLE, AYIDA MENTIONED THAT ASIKA, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE EAST CENTRAL STATE, WAS IN TOWN AND MIGHT BE INTERESTED. WE OF COURSE AGREED TO BRIEF HIM AND ANYONE ELSE AYIDA THOUGHT MIGHT BE USEFUL. ON THE QUESTION OF BRIEFING GOWON, AYIDA SAID THIS WAS SOMETHING I WOULD HAVE TO ARRANGE THROUGH EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. GP-2.
TRUEHEART

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P 261835Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1179
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 0890

JOINT USAID/SMBASSY MESSAGE

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - IN-COUNTRY AIRLIFT

REFERENCE: LAGOS 863

ADLER RAISED THE INCIDENT REPORTED LAGOS 863 WITH AYIDA THIS MORNING. AYIDA WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE INCIDENT AND REPORTED THAT DICKSON HAD TOLD HIM BY PHONE THAT THE REASON FOR HIS ACTION RETURNING THE TRANSALL TO COTONOU WAS THAT BALAIR WAS ON THE FMG BLACKLIST FOR CARRYING ARMS TO THE REBELS. HE SAID HE KNEW DICKSON WELL AND HE WOULD INVESTIGATE THESE ALLEGATIONS THOROUGHLY BEFORE TAKING ACTION.

REFERRING TO MEETING EARLIER THIS A.M. WITH BIGNAMI, AYIDA SAID HE HAD DIFFICULTY CONTROLLING HIS TEMPER DUE BIGNAMI OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO USE AIRLIFT ARRANGEMENTS TO GET ICRC "BACK IN BUSINESS" IN NIGERIA. AYIDA THEN SUMMARIZED ORIGINAL FMG PROPOSAL MADE TO HOCKE IN PRESENCE ADLER AND DEWEY. HE REITERATED THAT THE AIRLIFT WOULD BE UNDER THE OPERATIONAL CONTROL OF THE REHABILITATION COMMISSION BUT WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO THE RED CROSS AND ALL OTHER AGENCIES

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ENGAGED IN RELIEF WORK WITHIN NIGERIA.

HE SAID HE HAD CONCLUDED AFTER HIS CONVERSATION WITH BIGNAMI THAT ICRC ARRANGEMENT HAD PROBABLY FALLEN THROUGH, AND ASKED IF AID WOULD TAKE STEPS TO PROVIDE SIX AIRCRAFT UNDER CONTRACT
FOR THE COMMISSION.

ADLER AND DEWEY MET WITH BINAMI AND HOCKE THIS AFTERNOON. BIGNAMI REVIEWED HIS STORMY SESSION WITH AYIDA, SAID AYIDA HAD EXPECTED TO HAVE A LEAST TWO FRACTFLUG DC-6S WITH NO STRINGS ATTACHED, AND IF ICRC NOT AGREEABLE TO UNFETTERING ITS FLEET, THEN QUOTE WE WILL KICK YOU OUT UNQUOTE. ADLER THEN REVIEWED CONDITIONS OF AYIDA'S ORIGINAL REQUEST, NOTED THAT IT CLEAR FROM BEGINNING THAT NO THIRD PARTY WOULD BE PERMITTED TO HAVE AN OPERATIONAL ROLE. HE ASKED BIGNAMI IN HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT TO GENEVA (LEAVING TOMORROW) TO ADVOCATE IN LIGHT PRESENT CRISIS, PLACING ICRC IN STRICTLY CONTRACTING NON-OPERATIONAL ROLE THROUGH WHICH DONOR FUNDING COULD ASSURE BADLY NEEDED AIR CAPABILITY. BIGNAMI AGREED TO TRY.

ADLER SUSEQUENTLY CALLED AYIDA AND EXPLAINED THAT BIGNAMI NOW WILLING TO PRESS FOR ALTERED ROLE OF ICRC IN AIRLIFT PICTURE, I.E. ICRC TO PROVIDE AIRCRAFT WHICH WOULD BE COMPLETELY UNDER THE OPERATIONAL CONTROL OF THE REHAB COMMISSION. AYIDA SAID ICRC WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE UNDER THOSE TERMS.

HOCKE HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT ICRC (GENEVA) HAS ANNOUNCED THE AIRLIFT ARRANGEMENT, NOTING THAT MARKINGS WILL INCLUDE REHAB COMMISSION AND RED CROSS SYMBOL ONLY AND THAT AN ICRC DLEGATE WILL ACCOMPANY EACH FLIGHT. BIGNAMI CALLED LATER TO SAY THAT HE DEFINITELY WILL NOT PRESS FOR A DELEGATE ON THE PLANES, BUT WILL SETTLE FOR A LETTER AGREEMENT BETWEEN ICRC AND FMG SPECIFYING GROUND RULES FOR AIRLIFT OPERATION. ADLER SUGGESTED KEEPING RULES SIMPLE, I.E., THAT AIRLIFT WILL BE USED FOR RELIEF AND REHAB PURPOSES.
GP-5 JANUARY 26, 1971.
TRUEHEART

CONFIDENTIAL

Original

EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
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O 261630Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1160

S E C R E T LAGOS 0866

EXDIS

PERSONAL FOR THE UNDER SECRETARY

REF: STATE 11791, 11792 AND 11797

1. DR. FOEGE BRIEFED ME YESTERDAY AND I NOW HAVE FULL APPRECIATION OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE WESTERN REPORT. IT FOLLOWS THAT I AM PERSUADED PERSONALLY AS WELL AS OFFICIALLY THAT IT IS VITAL TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT GENERAL GOWON AND THE FMG ARE BROUGHT TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPLICATIONS AND AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

2. UNFORTUNATELY I MAY NOT BE ABLE TO GET AT GENERAL GOWON QUICKLY. APART FROM THE HEAVY DEMANDS ON HIM AT THIS TIME AND THE MANY REQUESTS BY OTHERS FOR APPOINTMENTS--NOTABLY THE OBSERVERS, WHO HAVE BEEN PRESSING FOR PERSONAL MEETING TO REPORT THEIR FINDINGS IN THE THIRD DIVISION AREA--GOWON HAS GENERAL MOBUTU ON HIS HANDS UNTIL WEDNESDAY. GOWON, INCIDENTALLY, WASTED NEARLY FIVE HOURS THIS MORNING (AS DID I) GOING TO AND FROM THE AIRPORT, WHERE MOBUTU WAS OVER AN HOUR LATE.

3. UNTIL I CAN SEE GOWON MY BEST TARGET IS AYIDA. I MAY BE ABLE TO SEE HIM TONIGHT IF HE CAN GET EXCUSED FROM THE MOBUTU FESTIVITIES. IF SO I PLAN TO BEGIN WITH THE WESTERN REPORT, GETTING DR. FOEGE TO BRIEF HIM PERSONALLY, AND MOVE FROM THAT INTO THE QUESTION OF USE OF AIRFIELDS IN THE ENCLAVE AND OTHER STEPS TO GIVE THE RELIEF OPERATION AN EVEN MORE URGENT CHARACTER.

'70 JAN 26 PM 2:15
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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4. FINALLY, I KNOW YOU APPRECIATE THAT WE ARE WORKING AGAINST HEAVY ODDS IN THIS. IN GENERAL, NIGERIAN NERVE ENDS ARE EXCEPTIONALLY RAW JUST NOW IN RE "FOREIGN MEDDLERS." I HAVE JUST HAD WORD THAT FOREIGN PRESS IS TO BE BARRED FROM ENCLAVE HENCEFORTH. (THIS WILL ALSO BE TAKEN UP WITH AYIDA.) MORE SPECIFICALLY, IT SEEMS TO BE ALMOST AN ARTICLE OF FAITH WITH THE NIGERIANS THAT THERE IS "ENOUGH FOOD IN NIGERIA FOR EVERYBODY." AS FOR USING ENCLAVE AIRFIELDS, ULI AT LEAST IS ANATHEMA TO THEM AND GOWON HAS ALREADY REJECTED THE POSSIBLE USE OF IT SEVERAL TIMES PRIVATELY, INCLUDING TO LORD HUNT, AND PUBLICLY IN HIS RECENT PRESS CONFERENCE. NEVERTHELESS I AGREE THAT WE WOULD BE DERELICT NOT TO TRY AGAIN, AND I WILL DO MY BEST.

5. I HAVE JUST HAD WORD THAT AYIDA CAN SEE ME NOW, AND AM ON MY WAY.
GP-2.
TRUEHEART

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SECRET 655

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ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00

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O 250952Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1138

S E C R E T LAGOS 0833

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: AIRLIFT IN NIGERIA

REF: STATE 11761

1. ADLER AND I CALLED ON AYIDA (IN CHARGE RELIEF OPERATIONS) AT 9:15 THIS MORNING AND HAD FULL AND FRANK DISCUSSION OF PROBLEMS RAISED REFTEL.

2. IN EFFECT THERE IS NO POLITICAL PROBLEM IF WE PROCEED WITH AIRLIFT AS OUTLINED PARA ONE REFTEL, I.E. TWO SORTIES PER DAY C-141 AIRLIFT WITH MILITARY MARKINGSPAINTED OUT, CREWS IN FLIGHT SUITS WITHOUT INSIGNIA, AND FLIGHT PLANS FILED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ICAO PROCEDURES.

3. FMG FULLY UNDERSTANDS THAT FLIGHTS WILL RECEIVE MUCH PUBLICITY AND THAT PAINTING OUT OF MILITARY MARKINGS ON PLANES WILL INCREASE PUBLICITY AND FOCUS EVEN MORE ATTENTION ON FACT THAT PLANES ARE REALLY MILITARY. HOWEVER, AYIDA SAID THAT THIS IS OF ABSOLUTELY NO CONCERN TO FMG; WITHIN NIGERIA FMG WILL BE PRAISED FOR INSISTING ON PAINTING OUT OF MILITARY MARKINGS AND HE PREDICTED FAVORABLE EDITORIAL COMMENT IN DOMESTIC PRESS. IT THUS APPEARS THAT BOTH THE USG AND FMG ARE IN ENVIABLE POSITION OF BEING ABLE TO HAVE THEIR CAKE AND EAT IT TOO.

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4. THE ONLY QUALIFICATION ON PRESS COVERAGE IS WITH REGARD TO PRESS AND TV REPORTERS AND CAMERAMEN ACCOMPANYING PLANES. I STRONGLY RECOMMEND AGAINST THIS. THE LARGE FOREIGN PRESS CONTINGENT PRESENTLY IN NIGERIA IS MORE THAN ADEQUATE TO COVER ARRIVAL OF AIRLIFT. SOME OF THE AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS, I UNDERSTAND, HAVE ALREADY ARRANGED TO GO BACK INTO ENCLAVE AREA ON INDIVIDUAL BASIS AND SHOULD BE ABLE TO PROVIDE SOME REPORTAGE ON END USE OF US EQUIPMENT. BUT THE FMG CAPABILITY FOR DEALING WITH THE FOREIGN PRESS IS ALREADY VASTLY OVERTAXED, AS THE IEPT HANDLING OF THE VISIT TO PORT HARCOURT DEMONSTRATED. IT WOULD BE UNFAIR TO FMG AND IN MY OPINION NOT IN THE US INTEREST TO INTRODUCE A NEW GROUP OF REPORTERS PROBABLY UNFAMILIAR WITH NIGERIA AND INTENT ON FOLLOWING THE CARGOES TO THEIR ULTIMATE DESTINATION. LATTER WOULD BE IMPRACTICAL GIVEN LOCAL LOGISTICAL DIFFICULTIES AND WOULD RAISE HOST OF NEW PROBLEMS FOR FMG AND OUSELVES. AN ADDITIONAL PROBLEM MENTIONED BY AYIDA IS THAT ONE OR MORE OF REPORTERS IN A NEW CONTINGENT MIGHT BE DEFINITELY PNG TO GOVERNMENT BECAUSE OF PAST REPORTING ON OR FROM BIAFRA. AN INCIDENT OF THIS KIND COULD SOUR OPERATION.
5. RE PARA 3E REFTEL, GIVEN THE RELAXED FMG ATTITUDE DESCRIBED ABOVE, THE ONLY SUGGESTION I WOULD HAVE ON PRESS TREATMENT IS TO PLAY IT STRAIGHT.

6. IN PARTING AYIDA ASKED US FOR 4 MORE 200-BED PACKAGE HOSPITALS. DETAILS FOLLOW.
GP-2.
TRUEHEART

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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O 231823Z JAN 70 ZFF-1
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1121

S E C R E T LACOS 807

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PASS LONDON PRIORITY

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY NEWSOM FROM AMBASSADOR

REF: STATE 8816

1. AS YOU SUGGESTED, I HAVE PERSONALLY LOOKED INTO QUESTION OF GRAVITY FEEDING PROBLEM AND TALKED WITH DR. MILLER OF CDC. OUR BEST ESTIMATE OF FOOD REQUIREMENTS AND CALCULATIONS OF STOCKS ON HAND AND EN ROUTE ARE CONTAINED IN LAGOS 805 REPLYING TO STATE 8750. THESE ARE IN EFFECT NIGERIAN RED CROSS FIGURES FULLY CONCURRED IN BY USAID EXPERTS. YOU WILL NOTE ALSO THAT DR. MILLER OF CDC, WHOM YOU MENTION IN YOUR MESSAGE, ALSO SUPPORTS THE NRC ESTIMATES, SO COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO PERSUADE NRC TO ACCEPT THE ESTIMATES OF DR. WESTERN ET AL.

2. OBVIOUSLY THIS IS A PROBLEM WHICH NEEDS CONSTANT LOOKING AT AND WE WILL HAVE ANOTHER LOOK AS SOON AS DR. CONRAD RETURNS FROM THE ENCLAVE AREA. I WILL PERSONALLY TALK TO HIM.

3. REGARDING INTERNAL AIRLIFT, YOU WILL BE AWARE THAT WE HAVE MADE A LOT OF PROGRESS SINCE YOUR MESSAGE WAS SENT. ULI IS STILL NOT ACCEPTABLE TO FMG BUT WE ARE NOT RULING OUT A POSSIBLE CHANGE OF MIND EVEN ON THIS. FOR ONE THING, IT MAY TURN OUT THAT THE C-97'S CANNOT LAND AT ENUGU OR HARCOURT, IN WHICH CASE NIGERIANS MAY COME TO CONCLUSION THEMSELVES THAT ULI IS THE ANSWER. I SUGGEST THERE IS A BETTER CHANCE OF

'70 JAN 24 AM 9:32
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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THEIR DOING SO IF WE DON'T NUDGE THEM.

4. WE HAVE JUST SENT STILL ANOTHER CABLE OF CONSIDERABLE SIGNIFICANCE ON RELIEF SITUATION, LAGOS 806 DRAFTED BY DEWEY, WHICH YOU WILL WANT TO LOOK AT RIGHT AWAY. GP-2
TRUEHEART

NOTE: NOT PASSED LONDON BY OC/T.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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O 231608Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1097

S E C R E T 779

EXDIS

PASS LONDON PRIORITY

REF: (A) STATE 10166; (B) STATE 10868

I HAVE HAD NO RESPONSE TO MY REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON. THIS COULD BE EXPLAINED BY FACT SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL IS MEETING TODAY BUT IT IS EQUALLY POSSIBLE HE IS DELIBERATELY AVOIDING ME. INASMUCH AS FMG AID REQUESTS YESTERDAY SUBSTANTIALLY COVER MUCH OF WHAT I WAS TO SEEK FROM GOWON, LEAVING SECURITY IN THIRD DIVISION AREA AS PRINCIPAL REMAINING URGENT PROBLEM, I AM INCLINED NOT TO PRESS FOR DEFINITIVE ANSWER ON APPOINTMENT UNTIL WE KNOW BRITISH REACTION TO REF (B). GP-2
TRUEHEART

NOTE: NOT PASSED LONDON BY OCT.

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UNCLAS LAGOS 738

SUBJECT: GOWON PRESS CONFERENCE

1. FOLLOWING RETURN OF LARGE INTERNATIONAL PRESS PARTY FROM VISIT TO FORMER BATTLE AREA, GOWON MET WITH THE PRESS FOR AN HOUR AND TEN MINUTES.

2. HE FIRST READ PREPARED STATEMENT (SUMMARY TO FOLLOW), THEN ANSWERED QUESTIONS FOR APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR.

3. MAJOR THEMES RUNNING RHOUGH BOTH STATEMENT AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS WERE: FMG REGARDS RELIEF AS NIGERIAN PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED BY NIGERIANS; NIGERIAN PROBLEMS COMPLICATED BY FOREIGNERS THINKING THEY UNDERSTAND NIGERIANS OR AFRICANS QTE BETTER THAN WE DO OURSELVES UNQTE; RECOGNIZED FMG QTE NOT RPT NOT INFALLIBLE UNQTE, THERE HAD BEEN SHORTCOMINGS BUT

NIGERIANS HONESTLY DOING THEIR BEST MEET RELIEF NEEDS; QTE THOSE WHO GENUINELY WANT TO HELP WILL RECIEVE A READY WELCOME UNQTE., HE MADE IT CLEAR PRESS FREE TO FILE WHAT THEY WANTED BUT RATHER BITTERLY NOTED HE EXPECTED THAT IN NEXT FEW WEEKS SOME WOULD QTE BELITTLE OUR EFFORTS UNQTE.

4. FOLLOWING ARE GOWON'S RESPONSES TO MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS: ON REOPENING ULI AIRSTRIP, HE NOTED PORT HARCOURT, ENUGU AND CALABAR HAD BEEN DESIGNATED FOR RELIEF FLIGHTS AND RULED OUT USE OF ULI BY SAYING IT HAD BEEN TOO MUCH QTE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS UNQTE.

5. REGARDING U. S. AIRCRAFT, HE CONFINED HIMSELF TO SAYING QTE IT BEING CONSIDERED UNQTE.

6. ON STARVATION, HE RECOGNIZED IT WAS QTE GIGANTIC PROBLEM, BUT WE HAVE NOT RPT NOT UNDERESTIMATED IT UNQTE. SAID HE TOLD FIELD COMMANDERS THEY RESPONSIBLE FOR RELIEF AS SOON AS AREAS THEY HAD TAKEN WERE SECURE.

7. IN RESPONSE TO EMOTIONAL STATEMENT THAT VIRTUALLY NO NIGERIAN AID GETTING INTO EX-ENCLAVE (QUESTIONER DESCRIBED INEFFICIENT NIGERIAN ARMY RELIEF EFFORTS AT OWERRI AND CALLED CONDITION OF 500 RIVERS CHILDREN IN PORT HARCOURT QTE WORST THAN BELSEN UNQTE), GOWON FLARED. GOWON REITERATED FMG DOING ITS BEST; SAID HE HAD DESPATCHED STATE GOVERNORS JOHNSON AND GOMWALK TO AFFECTED AREA AND THEY HAD SEEN NOTHING TO JUSTIFY SUCH A CONCLUSION. FINALLY, HE CHARGED QUESTIONER WITH SUGGESTING THAT EUROPEANS WANT TO COME IN TO DO RELIEF JOB NIGERIANS THEMSELVES DETERMINED TO DO. GOWON MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR ANY SUCH SUGGESTION MOST UNACCEPTABLE. ON QTE FUTURE OF NIGERIAN PEOPLE UNQTE, GOWON SIMPLY REPLIED THAT POLICY WAS TO INSURE THAT QTE ALL INHABITANTS, IRRESPECTIVE OF ETHNIC ORIGIN, COULD FEEL SECURE AND HAPPY UNQTE.

8. ON OJUKWU: QTE WAIT UNTIL HE GIVES HIMSELF UP UNQTE; HOWEVER, IMPLICATION WAS PROBABLY NO AMNESTY.

9. ON ROLE OF MISSIONARIES, GOWON WAS FLEXIBLE,

INDICATING THAT WHEREVER FIELD COMMANDERS BELIEVED INDIVIDUALS WERE DOING GOOD WORK, COMMANDER HAD DISCREATION TO LET THAT INDIVIDUAL CONTINUE WORKING. WITH RESPECT STATUS CATHOLIC PRIESTS NOW IN PORT HARCOURT, GOWON SAID EACH CASE WOULD BE CONSIDERED ON ITS MERITS, I E, HAD THE INDIVIDUAL ENTERED THE COUNTRY LEGALLY AND WHAT WHAT HIS ROLE DURING REBELLION?

10. WITH REGARD TO FUTURE RELATIONS TO FRANCE AND OTHER COUNTRIES WHO RECOGNIZED REBELS, GOWON SAID QTE BALL IN THEIR COURT UNQTE. IMPLIED FIRST MOVE UP TO ZAMBIA, AND TANZANIA TO RESTORE RELATIONS. ON FRANCE, SAID THEY HAD BEEN QTE VERY PROVOCATIVE UNQUOTE, SUPPORTED REBELLION AND HAD DONE THINGS QTE NO SOVEREIGN NATION COULD TOLERATE UNQTE. HE SAID THAT EXCHANGE OF BIAFRAN CURRENCY FOR FEDERAL QTE WOULD SOON TAKE PLACE UNQTE AND THAT GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED WERE WORKING OUT DETAILS. REALIZED IT MUST BE DONE QUICKLY.

11. IN ANSWER QUESTIONS REGARDING WHEREABOUTS OF EFFIONG AND OTHERS WHO CAME TO SURRENDER, GOWON DENIED THEY ARRESTED, AND SAID THEY CURRENTLY SHUTTLING BETWEEN PORT HARCOURT, OWERRI AND ENUGU IN ORDER REASSURE CIVILIAN POPULATION. QTE IF WE HAD WANTED TO BE BRUTAL TO THEM THERE COULD HAVE BEEN EXECUTIONS ALREADY UNQTE.

12. ON ALLEGED MOLESTATION OF CIVILIANS, GOWON REPLIED INDIRECTLY BY SAYING FMG WILLING TO ACCEPT HONEST CRITICISM. WHEN HE FIRST HEARD SUCH REPORTS THIS MORNING HE CALLED OBASANJO. HE SUGGESTED THAT QUESTIONER QTE DIDN'T SEE WHAT HE EXPECTED TO SEE UNQTE NAMELY GENOCIDE AND MASS ATROCITIES UNQTE. GOWON POINTED OUT THERE UNPLEASANT INCIDENTS IN ALL WARS AND IN THIS CONNECTION ALLUDED TO VIETNAM.

13. REGARDING CHARGES THAT ARMY COMMANDEERING ICRC VEHICLES, GOWON DENIED THIS, SAYING HE AWARE HOWEVER THAT SOME RIVERS CIVILIANS, WHO HAD BEEN DETAINED BY REBELS, ARE UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE TAKEN VEHICLES REBELS HID IN BUSH WHEN THEY RELEASED.

14. ON FUTURE OR RELIEF AGENCIES, GOWON SAID THAT ANY ORGANIZATION WHICH QTE DELIBERATELY DEFIED US OR DARED US TO SHOOT THEM DOWN UNQTE WILL HAVE TO ANSWER FOR LOSS OF LIFE AS THEY RESPONSIBLE FOR PROLONGING THE WAR.

15. COMMENT: GOWON, WHO FLANKED BY ADMIRAL WEY, STATE GOVERNORS JOHNSON AND GOMWALK, INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE, AND INFO COMMISSIONER ENAHOR, FULLY IN CHARGE THROUGHTOUT CONFERENCE. AT TIMES JOCULAR, HE MOST SERIOUS AND SENSITIVE TO CHARGES OF NIGERIAN INDIFFERENCE AND OR INCOMPETENCE ON RELIEF ISSUES.
TRUEHEART

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ACTION AF-18

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UCF-05 UPW-01 ORM-03 SR-01 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1035
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

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REF: LAGOS 687, STATE 009955

1. FOLLOWING WEDNESDAY NIGHT MEETING DESCRIBED REFTEL, JODA, PERMSEC INFORMATION, ACCOMPANIED BY AYIDA, MINISTRY ECON DEVELOPMENT, WENT TO FEDERAL PALACE HOTEL TO CIRCULATE AMONG JOURNALISTS GATHERED THERE. PAO SHELLENBERGER WAS PRESENT.

2. JODA EXPLAINED THE PORT HARCOURT DETENTION AS AN AIR SCHEDULING MIXUP AND ASSURED JOURNALISTS THERE WAS NO RPT NO DESIGN IN THIS. MOST CORRESPONDENTS SKEPTICAL, ALTHOUGH BIDDULPH, RESIDENT BBC CORRESPONDENT, SAID LATER JODA'S EXPLANATION WAS PROBABLY CLOSER TO THE TRUTH THAN NOT.

3. RE STATE 9955 MOST AMERICAN REPORTERS INCLUDING BROWN VOA STILL AT PORT HARCOURT. WILL COMMENCE DEBRIEFING UPON ARRIVIAL. THOSE WHO DEPARTED AREA PREMATURELY WERE SMALL GROUP OF BRITISH WHO SERVED MAINLY AS COPY CARRIERS.

4. AMONG THE APPROXIMATELY 60 JOURNALISTS STILL IN PORT HARCOURT ARE BOROWIEC, WASH STAR; HOAGLAND, WASH POST; BORDERS, NYT; MEISLER, LA TIMES; KEARNS, BCBS; JAFFE, NEWS-

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WEEK; MULLIGAN, AP; BLASHILL, TIME; BUETEL, ABC.

5. ACCORDING TO JODA, GROUP EXPECTED BACK IN LAGOS TODAY. GOWON PRESS CONFORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR 11 HRS HAS BEEN POSTPONED TO 16 HRS WITH SUGGESTION THIS WOULD INSURE PARTICIPATION OF JOURNALISTS STILL AT PORT HARCOURT.
TRUEHEART

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 0695

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PASS BEER LICROSS

JOINT EMBASSY/USAID MESSAGE

FOLLOWING IS A TRANSCRIPT OF HANDWRITTEN REPORT FROM DR. LYLE CONRAD TO DR. DAVID MILLER, NCR WRITTEN IN ORLU AND HAND-CARRIED TO LAGOS BY DEWEY YESTERDAY.

TUES. NIGHT, JAN. 20 - ORLU RED CROSS STATION

DEAR DAVE:

1. HERE'S THE PICTURE AS I SEE IT AT THE MOMENT IN PORT HARCOURT. THE NIGER CLINIC IS AT PRESENT A DISASTER. 500 KIDS, ONE NURSE, MINMAL FEEDING GOING ON. ESSIEN OF LITTLE HELP. I GAVE HIM ONE JOB TODAY - RECRUIT LOCAL STAFF - 18 AT A MINIMUM - THEY NEED TWO ENGLISH NURSES IMMEDIATELY - HOUSING AVAILABLE. TELL MIN. OF HEALTH, WHO ORDERED THE EVACUATION FROM SANTANA, TO STOP. AS SOON AS THEY ARE BETTER CARED FOR THEY SHOULD GO BACK. MANY PARENTS ARE LOOKING FOR THEM AT SANTANA.

2. THE 3RD MARINES ARE RUNNING WILD - LOOTING EVERYTHING IN SIGHT INCLUDING HOSPITALS. WE WATCHED THEM FINISH AT

EMEKUKU - REPORTED IT TO THE LIEUTENANT - HE WAS NO HELP. SEE DEWEY OR HIS REPORT. THE MARINES ARE NOT IN BARRACKS AS THE MILITARY WOULD HAVE YOU BELIEVE. THEY ARE TAKING RED CROSS LORRIES, PETROL FROM OUR DUMP AND A LARGE DRUG STORE. SECURITY IS FIRST PRIORITY - WE CAN'T EVEN FEED THE FOOD WE HAVE, THE DOCTORS (IBO) CAN'T GET PASSES TO COME OUT. YOU MUST GET MOHAMMED TO GO AS HIGH AS HE CAN, TO GET MORE HELP. PAPER IS WORTH NOTHING - WE NEED MILITARY ESCORTS TO WORK, AND TO BE STATIONED HERE. RED CROSS PERSONNEL THREATENED AT GUNPOINT, ONE LORRY SHOT AT AND STOPPED, AND TAKEN.

3. THERE'S MILLION PEOPLE OUT WHO NEED FOOD - THAT MAY BE A LOW ESTIMATE. MOST ARE NOT IN DEEP BUSH, BUT ALONG MAJOR ROADS. WE CRAWLED THE DEEP BUSH FOR 6 HOURS TODAY - BELOW THE OWERRI-UMUAHIA TARMAC. THERE'S LOTS OF CASAVA IN THE GROUND AND NO VILLAGE DESTRUCTION - IF THE PEOPLE MAKE IT BACK THERE, THEY WILL BE OK FOR NOW.

4. ORDER A 200 BED PD HOSP (OR EMEKUKU- BEAUTIFUL CONDITION - BEDS THERE BUT NOT MATTRESSES, SHEETS, BLANKETS. WE NEED IT IN ONE WEEK.

5. A 50 BED SET FOR OWERRI GENERAL - SEND IT OUT NOW - LOTS OF DOCTORS AVAILABLE IF WE GET PASSES FOR THEM.

6. A - 100 BED SET TO AMIGBO (LARGE UNICEF)
A - 50 BED SET TO ABA
A - 50 BED UNIT FOR AWOMAMA HOSPITAL - IBO DOCTORS AND NURSES AVAILABLE, IF PASSES.

7 WE NEED 10 LORRIES AT ONCE TO MOVE FOOD UP FROM PORT HARCOURT OR DOWN FROM ENUGU. 23 TONS A DAY COMING UP. WE WILL NEED 200 TONS/DAY INTO OWERRI/ORLU IN A WEEK OR LESS; GET MECHANICS INTO PORT HARCOURT AND ORLU TO GETDEADLINED VEHICLES MOVING. PH MECHANIC SHOP IS USELESS AT PRESENT. WE NEED THE AIRLIFT CAPACITY - NOW, NOT IN TWO WEEKS.

8. FOR CATHOLIC ORGANIZATION - WE FOUND AT EMEKUKU HOSPITAL -
M. URSULA PARLIS - SPRIZB
M. URBAN HEDWITH - LONDON
M. GERARD DILLON
MARY MONICA TYNDALL, M.D.

CONFIDENTIAL

FATHER WILLIAM MALONE HOLY GHOST
FATHER JAMES MOHAN HOLY GHOST
FATHER REDMOND WALSH HOLY GOST
ALL WELL - AND STAYING - HOLDING HOSPITAL

9. DRUG STORE AT ABA - S ROM UYO

10. PERSONNEL (PRIORITIES)

	DOCTORS	NURSES	TOTAL
1. OWERRI	1	3	3
2. PORT HARCOURT	1 PEDIATRICIAN	1	3
AHODA	1 TENTATIVE		
3. ABA & NDOHE SCHOOL	2	3	4-5
4. AUDHAMA	1 SURGEON		
5. AMIGPO	2	4	4
6. IHIOMA-OKPORA	1 PEDIATRICIAN	2	3
7. IHIALA	1		2
8. MBANO	1		2
YEHO			
ATTA	1		2
BUSH CLINICS			REMAINDER

11. MEDICAL TECHNICIANS 8 TO SOUTH - 5 TO NORTH
MECHANICS 2 TO PH, 2 ORLU, 2 OWERRI, 2-3 UBA, 2 ENUGU
VEHICLES, 20 PORT HARCOURT, 10 ENUGU

12. WE NEED MAPS, MINE SEEM TO BE IDEAL - ROAD MAP OF EASTERN NIGERIA, EASTCENTRAL STATE. 1/250,000 OR MORE DETAILED-ESPECIALLY TO EACH HEADQUARTERS.

13. BOY - ITS HELL OUT HERE AND WE NEED HELP OF ALL KINDS. I'LL STAY HERE ANOTHER WEEK PERHAPS - WITH CLARK WED. MILITARY 3RD MARINE NUMBER 1 PROBLEM. LYLE
GP-3.
TRUEHEART

CONFIDENTIAL

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 012

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18
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
104813

O P 220950Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1030
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
SMEMBASSY KINSHASA 1265
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION GENEVA
RHEHDT/USMISSION USUN 1399

S E C R E T LAGOS 0693
EXDIS
REF: STATE 10166

1. I CAN APPRECIATE EXTREME PRESSURES ON THE DEPARTMENT TO COMMENT ON CURRENT SITUATION IN ENCLAVE AND ACTIONS US IS TAKING TO MEET OBVIOUS PROBLEMS. ON OTHER HAND, THE LIKELIHOOD OF OUR GETTING GOWON TO ACT AND OF THE UNITED STATES BEING ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN RELIEF OPERATIONS CAN OBVIOUSLY BE SERIOUSLY AFFECTED BY ANY STATEMENTS WHICH CAN BE INTERPRETED HERE AS FOREIGN MEDDLING OR AS REFLECTING DOUBT ABOUT ABILITY OF NIGERIANS TO DO THE JOB. UNFORTUNATELY, IN THEIR PRESENT MOOD ALMOST ANYTHING WILL BE SO INTERPRETED.

2. IT IS PLAIN FROM MY INSTRUCTIONS (FEFTEL) THAT THIS POINT IS WELL UNDERSTOOD IN DEPARTMENT. I HOPE IT WILL IN FACT BE POSSIBLE TO HOLD PUBLIC COMMENT TO THE MINIMUM. POSSIBLY GOWON'S PRESS CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR 11:00 A.M. THIS MORNING WILL BE HELPFUL IN COPING WITH QUESTIONS.

3. IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT NOT TO IDENTIFY DEWEY GROUP AS SOURCE OF OUR INFORMATION OR TO STRESS THAT US HAS INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS IN FORMER ENCLAVE AREA. THIS COULD EASILY LEAD TO NIGERIAN STEPS TO CURTAIL THEIR ACTIVITIES OR EVEN TO WITHDRAW PERMISSION FOR THEM TO STAY IN AREA.

4. APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON HAS NOT YET BEEN SET BUT THERE

'70 JAN 22 AM 9:34

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ARE STRONG INDICATIONS HE PLANS TO SEE ME TODAY--POSSIBLY
THIS AFTERNOON IN VIEW OF HIS PRESS CONFERENCE.
GP-2.
TRUEHEART

NOTE: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR WILLIAMSON.

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 00685 212302Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 GUSIE-00 CCO-00 UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03

AID-28 YSCS-04 SCA-01 E-15 DOT-12 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 ACDA-13 RSR-01

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O P 212101Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1026
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T LAGOS 0685

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: REPORT FROM ENCLAVE AREA

1. FOLLOWING ARE DEWEY'S OVERALL OBSERVATIONS OF JUST COMPLETED VISIT TO ENCLAVE:

2. DISASTER OF MAJOR PROPORTIONS APPEARS TO BE DEVELOPING HERE. REPORTS EMANATING TO DATE FROM ENCLAVE AREA HAVE GENERALLY SERIOUSLY MISREPRESENTED DIMENSIONS OF PROBLEM. DOCTORS AND RELIEF WORKERS I TALKED TO WERE SURPRISED TO HEAR OF THESE REPORTS AND SAID THAT WAS NOT THE WAY THEY WERE FILED. AT LEAST ONE MILLION PEOPLE ARE IN ACUTE NEED NOW AND SITUATION GROWS WORSE DAILY. PRESENT RELIEF DELIVERY CAPACITIES NOT NEARLY ENOUGH TO COPE. RELIEF EFFORT IS ESSENTIALLY PARALYZED DUE BEHAVIOUR OF 3RD DIVISION IN OCCUPIED AREAS. THESE ACTIONS, LOOTING, RAPING, COMANDEERING, ARE COMMON TO WAR BUT CONSEQUENCES HERE ARE BLOCKAGE OF RELIEF EFFORT. AFTER BRILLIANT TACTICAL EFFORTS, OBASANJO HAS NOW LOST CONTROL OF HIS TROOPS. THERE IS STILL, HOWEVER, NO EVIDENCE OR CHARGES OF KILLING OF CIVILIANS OR OTHER ATROCITIES.

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3. PROBLEM PARTICULARLY EXPLOSIVE BECAUSE PRESS HAVE SEEN JUST ENOUGH DURING RECENT ESCORTED VISIT TO REALIZE HOW INADEQUATE RELIEF EFFORT IS. FACT THAT OBASANJO NOW NOT PERMITTING THEM TO LEAVE PORT HARCOURT MEANS, AT LEAST, THEY WILL EVENTUALLY VENT THEIR UGLY MOOD AGAINST FMG AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAD BEEN LED BY SUCH REPORTS AS HAVE EMANATED FROM ENCLAVE TO BELIEVE SOMETHING SUBSTANTIAL WAS BEING DONE ABOUT RELIEF.

4. NEED CENTERS AROUND OWERRI WHERE FOUR-MAN AUSTRIAN TEAM AND ONE LORRY TRYING TO COPE WITH ABOUT 1 MILLION PEOPLE. SINCE MARKET FOOD COSTLY AND LIMITED, ONE LED TO CONCLUSION THAT MOST NEED FULL FEEDING NOW. ALL WILL NEED IT WITHIN A WEEK. ORLU AREA IS NEXT PRIORITY. EXACT NUMBERS ACCESSIBLE FROM ORLU CENTER NOT KNOWN, BUT DR. HOBBS (NRC AREA MEDICAL ADVISOR, ENUGU ESTIMATES APPROXIMATELY SAME NUMBER LORRIES REQUIRED THERE AS FOR OWERRI. OHAFIA AREA NOT VISITED AND STILL PRETTY MUCH A BLANK. MEMBERS OF SCF TEAM 6 RECENTLY ARRIVED AT ORLU FROM AFIKPO DESCRIBED CONDITIONS AS VERY GRAVE, INCLUDING MANY WOUNDED SOLDIERS. APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION NEEDS RIGHT NOW ARE 200 TONS. AVERAGE DAILY DISTRIBUTION THIS WEEK HAS BEEN 40-50 TONS.

5. SUFFICIENCY OF LORRIES AT THIS POINT IS ALMOST ACADEMIC. BEHAVIOR OF 3RD DIVISION TROOPS PLACES RED CROSS RELIEF LORRIES IN CONSTANT JEOPARDY AND ELIMINATES, FOR THE MOMENT, USE OF CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF COMMERCIAL VEHICLES HIDDEN IN ENCLAVE BUSH. COMMERCIAL OPERATORS ARE INSISTING ON ASSURANCES AGAINST LOSING THEIR VEHICLES, WHICH WOULD PROBABLY NEED TO INCLUDE A MILITARY POLICE ESCORT.

6. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS WITH THE 3RD DIVISION INCLUDE:
A. OBASANJO'S "RETURN TO BARRACKS" ORDER APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN IGNORED. UNSUPERVISED BANDS OF STRAGGLERS AND MARAUDERS ARE EVERYWHERE.
B. STRAGGLERS SET UP THEIR OWN INFORMAL CHECK POINTS ALONG ROADS, PRINCIPALLY TO GET RIDES. THEIR MANNER IS TYPICALLY ARGUMENTATIVE AND THREATENING, FAR MORE UNDISCIPLINED CHECKPOINT BEHAVIOR THAN I HAVE SEEN

BEFORE ON EITHER SIDE. (MY ONLY CONTACT WITH 1ST DIVISION WAS AT SEVERAL OF ITS CHECKPOINTS BETWEEN ORLU AND ULI THIS A.M. 1ST DIV. SOLDIERS WERE VERY CORRECT AND COURTEOUS AND TRIED TO GET RIDES FOR NEEDY CIVILIANS RATHER THEN THEMSELVES.)

C. SOLDIERS ARE COMMANDEERING RED CROSS LORRIES TO HAUL BOTH MILITARY CARGO AND LOOT. ANY COMMERCIAL OR PRIVATE VEHICLE ON ROAD ALMOST CERTAIN TO BE CONFISCATED. EVERYONE DOING HIS BEST TO HIDE TRANSPORT IN BUSH. AUSTRIAN TEAM TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TODAY TO GET MILITARY LORRIES BADLY NEEDED FOR RELIEF DISTRIBUTION FROM 14 BRIGADE CO AND OWERRI. CO DID PROVIDE TWO DRUMS PETROL.

D. WIDESPREAD MOLESTING OF YOUNG WOMEN, PARTICULARLY NURSES. THIS IS PARALYZING HOSPITAL WORK AND WILL HINDER OPENING OF SICK BAYS EVEN WHEN FOOD IS AVAILABLE TO SERVICE THEM. RELIEF TEAMS TRYING TO FIND MALE NURSES AND OLD WOMEN TO SUPPLEMENT. FEW YOUNG NURSES WHO DO WORK ARRIVE LATE, LEAVE EARLY TO MINIMIZE RISK OF BEING MOLESTED.

E. SOLDIERS WERE OBSERVED AT EMEKUKU TEACHING HOSPITAL LOOTING ITEMS CRITICALLY NEEDED TO RESTORE SUCH FACILITIES TO NORMALCY. BROUGHT TO ATTENTION OF LT. IN CHARGE, WITHOUT RESULTS. LORRY LOADS OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS MOVING ALONG ROADS. MUCH INDISCRIMINATE DAMAGE NOTED IN AREAS LOOTED. (NOT ALL LOOTING DONE BY MILITARY, HOWEVER, MUCH ALSO DONE BY CIVILIANS IN AREA.) GP-2.

TRUEHEART

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Morris
Hawks Moore

1970 JAN 02 23Z

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CCO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03

SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28 RSR-01 /142HW
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O P 212050Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1024
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T LAGOS 682

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - U/CF SURVEY

1. GENERAL ITINERARY. DEWEY, CONRAD ARRIVED PORT HARCOURT VIA NIGERIAN AIRWAYS 4 P. M. JANUARY 19. AT PORT HARCOURT AIRPORT, MET BAPTIST MISSIONARIES HARRIS AND SKAGGS JUST BACK FROM AHOADA ELELE AREA. ASKED THEM TO BRIEF US OFFICIALS LAGOS DUE PAUCITY INFO ON THIS REGION. PROCEEDED TO MEET ESSIEN, NRC AREA COORDINATOR. OLOH RETURNED FROM ABA MEETING WITH ESSIEN. ALL INCLUDING LOWENSTEIN AND CLARK HAD DINNER TOGETHER AT ESSIEN'S HOUSE. AFTER DINNER VISITED NIGER CLINIC, PORT HARCOURT. LATER SAW FATHER FINUCANE ONE OF 23 CARITAS EXPATS UNDER HOUSE ARREST AT CEDAR PALACE HOTEL. JAN. 20 A. M. VISITED NRC MOTOR POOL, ALSO NRC STORAGE AT PORT HARCOURT PORT. THEN DEWEY WITH ILOH, CONRAD, LOWENSTEIN AND CLARK PROCEEDED NORTH TO ORLU VIA ABA, OWERRI, EMEKUKU HOSPITAL, ABOH JOINT HOSPITAL IN MBAISE AREA, MBANO HOSPITAL. OVERNIGHT AT FORMER ICRC HEADQUARTERS AT UMUOWA. MET WITH SCF TEAM 6, HAD MEDICAL MEETING LATER WITH DR. GEORGE HOBBS.

2. PORT HARCOURT AREA:

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A. AREA COORDINATOR. ESSIEN NOT UP TO JOB. LACKS VIGOR, IMAGINATION, ABILITY TO ORGANIZE. MISSED RADIO CHECK P. M. JAN. 19 BECAUSE "TOO TIRED." REFUSES TO TAKE LOCAL RESPONSIBILITIES REQUIRED IN THIS EMERGENCY, E. G. TURN OVER FOOD TO LOCAL GROUPS EOCH AS BAPTIST MISSION, WILLING AND ABLE TO HELP DISTRIBUTE.

B. NIGER CLINIC. 400 DISPLACED CHILDREN CARED FOR UNDER DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS. 4-5 PER BED. MANY LYING AND STOOLING ON FLOORS. NO SUPERVISORS VISIBLE DURING EVENING VISIT. CONRAD DESCRIBED AS "WORST MEDICAL FACILITY I HAVE SEEN IN THIS EFFORT." BADLY NEED MORE NURSES.

C. NRC MOTOR POOL. MAINTENANCE CHIEF SAYS HE HAS SUFFICIENT DRIVERS, MECHANICS. LACK OF PARTS KEEPS 30 - 50 PERCENT OF HIS VEHICLES DEADLINED DAILY. ELECTRCITY NOT TURNED ON. SINGLE GENERATOR WEARING OUT. MAINTENANCE CHIEF SUFFERING FROM DISLOCATED SHOULDER WHEN SOLDIER STRUCK HIM PRIOR COMMANDEERING HIS VEHICLE. THIS FACILITY WEAKEST LINK IN PORT HARCOURT OPERATION. MAY NEEDS TO TAKE HARD LOOK.

D. RELIEF STORAGE. IN OLD WAREHOUSE AT PORT LITTLE CHANGED SINCE DEWEY/FLAHERTY VISIT A YEAR AGO. UNACCEPTABLY INFESTED, MAJORITY OF BULGUR BAGS BROKEN AND USELESS, MANY CSM SACKS BROKEN AND CONTENTS SPILLED. SWISS CHEESE ROTTING, RATS PROLIFERATING. OF PLANNED 3000 TONS OF OLD STOCK, PERHAPS 500-1000 USEABLE. NOPAL SUN WAS DISCHARGING CSM INTO ANOTHER WAREHOUSE AT TIME OF VISIT. CONDITIONS MUCH BETTER THERE. STACKING GOOD EXCEPT NO PALLETS USED. ROOFS REPAIRED AND WARHOUSES NOW DRY.

E. OWERRI AREA. AT MOMENT, APPEARS TO BE CENTER OF GRAVITY FOR RELIEF POPULATION. NEEDS GREATEST CONCENTRATION OF EFFORT, YET ONLY ONE 4-MAN (AUSTRIAN) TEAM THERE. DISRIBUED PITIFULLY INADEQUATE 26 TONS DAILY ON JAN 19 AND 20. SHORTFALL DUE INADEQUATE WHOLESALE MOVEMEN FOOD UP FROM PORT HARCOURT-UYO (50 TONS ON JAN 19) AND ONLY ONE 10-TON LORRY AVAILABLE FOR RETAIL DISTRIBUTION. AUSTRIANS ESTIMATE NEED 6 RETAIL LORRIES OPERATING DAILY. POLICE NOW ESTIMATE 13,000 REFUGEES IN OWERRI, APPROXIMATELY 3000 ENTERING AND LEAVING DAILY. TEAM CITED AS MAJOR PROBLEMS: 1) MASSIVE MALNUTRITION; 2) UNTREATED WAR CASUALTIES.

AGREED BEST SOLUTION TO FORMER IS WIDESPREAD ESTABLISHMENT OF SICK BAYS SUPPLIED WITH FOOD. MAJOR OBSTACLE TO THIS IS INSUFFICIENT FOOD AND LACK OF NURSES. PLENTY NURSES AVAILABLE, BUT FEW WILLING TO COME FORTH DUE ROUTINE, WIDESPREAD MOLESTATION BY SOLDIERS. MOBILE HOSPITAL CRITICALLY NEEDED IN OWERRI. ILOH DREW OUT 2 IBO DOCTORS IN OWERRI WILLING TO WORK--PROF. NWACHUKU (FORMER U. OF IBADAN PROFESSOR OF SURGERY) AND DR. AKANWA.

F. EMEKUKU (FORMER U. OF BIAFRA TEACHING HOSPITAL). AS SURVEY PARTY ARRIVED, SOLDIERS (WITH LT. LOOKING ON) WERE LEAVING WITH HOSPITAL LORRIES LOADED WITH LOOTED HOSPITAL SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT. TOOK SMALL STUFF--SHEETS, TABLES, CHAIRS. MOST WARD BEDS LEFT INTACT. LOOTING, WITH ACQUIESCENCE OF OFFICERS, STARTED 8 JANUARY AT CAPTURE WHEN STAFF WAS LED AWAY. DR. UDEKWA (FORMER COOK COUNTY HOSPITAL STAFF) PERSONALLY EVACUATED HIGH SOLDIER POPULATION AT OVERRUN. NOW ONLY MATERNITY CASES ADMITTED AND NO FOOD AVAILABLE FOR THEM. NURSES ARRIVE IN A. M., BUT MUST LEAVE EARLY DUE MOLESTATION BY SOLDIERS EN ROUTE TO WORK. LOOTING LOSSES INCLUDED MANY SHEETS, PILLOWS, MATRESSES, NURSES' BEDS TAKEN OR DAMAGED. LITTLE LAB EQUIPMENT, INCLUDING PRECIOUS X-RAY UNIT, CAN BE SALVAGED. CATHOLIC EXPATS THERE ARE CONFINED TO AREA WITH PASSES TO ABA FOR BUSINESS TRIPS. SUPERVISOR SISTER TINDALL EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR THEIR SAFETY AS WE LEFT. ONE GROUP SOLDIERS HAVE LEFT, BUT OFFICERS REMAIN AND MORE EM'S BOUND TO COME.

G. ORLU AREA. COVERED BY SCF TEAM 6 HEADQUARTERED AT OLD ICRC COMPOUND AT UMOWA. DISTURBANCE AS WE ARRIVED DUE MILITARY LORRY HAVING JUST ARRIVED AND MADE OFF WITH 2 PARRELS PETROL AND ONE BARREL MOTOR OIL. ONLY ONE POLICEMAN ASSIGNED TO DEFEND COMPOUND. HE SAID HE DID NOT SEE LOOTING. 40-50 TONS BULGUR, ROLLED OATS, CSM, RICE AND STOCKFISH STORED AT TEAM HEADQUARTERS. NO DISTRIBUTION FROM HERE LAST 2 DAYS. 3 TRUCKS DISTRIBUTED FROM CARITAS OHIOMA STORES. TRUCKS INCLUDE 4 BEDFORDS (2 NOW DEADLINED) AND ONE GERMAN FORD (ALSO DEADLINED). BRIGHT SPOT IS THAT DEVONSHIRE MAINTENANCE WHIZ--DAVID NIXON--BACK ON JOB. SAYS SCORES OF LOCALS APPLYING FOR WORK IN ALL SKILLS DAILY. WILL HAVE NO PROBLEM GETTING GOOD MECHANICS AND PLANS TO START HIRING TOMORROW. CONTRACTORS WITH FLEET LEASED TO WCC AND CARITAS

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OFFERED 30-40 OF THESE LORRIES FOR JANUARY 21 PROVIDED SUFFICIENT ASSURANCES OBTAINED AGAINST MILITARY CONFISCATION. THIS VITAL PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED PRIOR REALIZING THIS CAPACITY NOW CAREFULLY TUCKED AWAY IN THE BUSH. OBASANJO GUARANTEE COUPLED WITH MILITARY POLICE ESCORT APPEARS ONLY HOPE. (COMMENT: THIS OBVIOUSLY QUICKEST AND POTENTIALLY MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO AUGMENT TRUCK FLEET. MUST BE PUSHED AT HIGHEST LEVELS IF OBASANJO DOES NOT COME THROUGH.) SCF TEAM ESTIMATES 14 SEVEN TON TRUCKS IN DAILY OPERATION SUFFICIENT PRESENT DISTRIBUTION NEEDS. JANUARY 21, OPERATION COMPLETELY SHUT DOWN OUT OF ORLU AREA DUE FEAR OF COMMANDEERING OF RELIEF TRUCKS. CANNOT TAKE RISK OF LOSING THEM AT THIS POINT. NURSES (EXPAT) ARE NOT GOING TO OKPORO HOSPITAL BECAUSE OF HIGH RISK OF MOLESTATION BY FMG TROOPS. GP-2
TRUEHEART

CONFIDENTIAL

Morris

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 RSR-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

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RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01

SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 CCO-00 OPR-02 O-03 OC-06 SY-03

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Z 0 211855Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 1023
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

VC O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 681

REF STATE 9449

1. DEWEY HAS JUST RETURNED TO LAGOS FROM PORT HARCOURT AFTER TWO DAY VISIT TO ENCLAVE AREA. WE HAVE NOT SEEN TICKER REPORTS TO WHICH YOU REFER BUT DEWEY'S REPORT AMPLY BEARS OUT PICTURE OF DEVELOPING DISASTROUS SITUATION. FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM IS THAT THIRD DIVISION TROOPS ARE LARGELY OUT OF CONTROL, EVIDENTLY THIS SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED RAPIDLY SINCE LORD HUNT'S VISIT. IN ANY CASE SITUATION IS NOW SUCH THAT IN DEWEY'S OPINION, STRICTLY RELIEF QUESTIONS SUCH AS TRANSPORT, FOODSTOCKS, ETC, ARE ACADEMIC UNTIL THIRD DIVISION BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL. DEWEY'S DETAILED REPORTS ARE BEING CABLED AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

2. TO ADD TO PROBLEM MOST OF PRESS PARTY WHICH WENT TO PORT HARCOURT ARE BEING DETAINED THERE BY COMMANDER OF THIRD DIVISION. THIS OBVIOUSLY CAN ONLY EXACERBATE PROBLEM.

3. I HAVE INFORMED BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER OF SUBSTANCE OF DEWEY'S REPORTS AND I AM ASKING URGENT MEETING WITH GENERAL GOWON TO MAKE SURE HE UNDERSTANDS FULL PICTURE AS KNOWN TO US.

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4. REGARDING PRESS HANDLING I SUGGEST THAT FOR TIME BEING DEPARTMENT INDICATE THAT INFORMATION REACHING IT ALSO INDICATES SITUATION MAY HAVE DETERIORATED BUT DECLINE ANY FURTHER COMMENT FOR TIME BIEING.

5. WHEN I SEE GOWON I WILL OF COURSE URGE ON HIM IMPORTANCE OF PERMITTING PRESS TO RETURN TO LAGOS.
GP-2.
TRUEHEART

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PRS-01 SS-20 UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 EUR-20 IO-13

AID-28 RSR-01 /143 W
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O 211501Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1009

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 653

SUBJECT: PRESS REPORTING FROM ENCLAVE AREA

REF LAGOS 639

1. MICHAEL WOLFERS, TIMES OF LONDON CORRESPONDENT, RETURNED LAGOS TUESDAY JAN 20 FROM JOURNALISTS' TOUR WAR AFFECTED AREAS CARRYING COPY OF VARIOUS MEDIA REPRESENTED ON TOUR.

2. EMBASSY HAS LOOKED AT AFP COPY DATELINE OWERRI, WRITTEN BY CORRESPONDENT SMITH. FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF MAIN POINTS SMITH'S STORY REFLECTED IN OTHER ARTICLES FILED OTHER AGENCIES BUT WE UNDERSTAND WITH EVEN HEAVIER EMPHASIS ON NEGATIVE. MAJORITY JOURNALISTS INCLUDING BROWN VOA HAVE NOT RPT NOT YET RETURNED.

3. SUMMARY: DEVASTATION OF WAR VISIBLE THROUGHOUT AREA, BUT NO SIGN GENOCIDE OR SMALL SCALE SLAUGHTER. PLENTY OF WRECKAGE. REAL DAMAGE IS SEEN IN THE EYES AND PHYSICAL CONDITION OF PEOPLE WHO CAME FORWARD TO TALK TO JOURNALISTS. MOST DESPERATE PROBLEM IS TO GET FOOD TO REFUGEES WHO NUMBER IN THOUSANDS. CRITICAL ASPECT IS TRANSPORT. PROBLEM COMPOUNDED BY FINANCIAL CHAOS AND FACT PEOPLE HAVE NO LEGITIMATE CURRENCY. IN SOME AREAS THERE EXISTS TENSION BETWEEN POPULATION AND FEDERAL TROOPS. PEOPLE ACCUSED TROOPS OF LOOTING AND RAPING WOMEN. LT COL AKINGINADE OF THE THIRD

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MARINES COMMANDO DIVISION DID NOT DENY THAT THESE THINGS OCCURRED, BUT ADDED THAT HARSH JUSTICE AWAITS THOSE WHO CAUGHT INCLUDING FIRING SQUAD. COL HOPED THAT FEDERAL POLICECONTINGENTS WOULD ARRIVE SOON SO TROOPS COULD RETURN TO BARRACKS. REFUGEE CHILDREN MOST POIGNANT SITUATION. TRANSPORT PROBLEM EXISTS IN TRANSPORTING SUPPLIES TO OWERRI FROM ABA SO THAT MALNUTRITION AMONG CHILDREN DOES NOT LEAD TO DEATH. ALSO MEDICAL FACILITIES FOR CHILDREN QUITE LIMITED ONLY THREE DOCOTORS IN AREA. ONEDOCTOR, IBO,DR NWBANERI, WHEN QUESTIONED BY JOURNALISTS SAID SHE HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF REPORT THAT FEDERAL TROOPS HAD LOOTED FOOD VAN. JOURNALISTS RAN INTO NOTED AUTHOR CYPRIAN EKWENSI WHO GLAD WAR AT END BUT CRITICAL OF DELAYS IN FOOD AIR PROGRAM. EKWENSI SAID RELATIONS BETWEEN TROOPS AND POPULATION WERE GOOD. HE WILL REMAIN AS REGIONAL DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION UNDER THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. EKWENSI HAS NOT BEEN ARRESTED OR MOLESTED. AT END OF WAR MANY REBEL SOLDIERS PUT ON CIVILIAN CLOTHES. ACCORDING YO COL AKINGINADE REBEL OFFICERS WHO SURRENDERED HAVE BEEN RELEASED BUT THEIR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT RESTRICTED TO SPECIFIC AREAS. SMITH REPORTS HIS BELIEF THAT JOURNALISTS TRIP NOT RIGGED IN ADVANCE. LOCAL COMMANDERS HAD NO PRIOR NOTICE OF THEIR COMING AND HAD NOT ARRANGED FOR FOOD OR LODGING. THE 80 PLUS JOURNALISTS WERE TRANSPORTED IN TWO TRUCKS. THEY ATE PINEAPPLE, DRANK BEER, COCONUT MILK AND PALM WINE.
TRUEHEART

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 533

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ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
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O 161030Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 878

S E C R ET LAGOS 462

EXDIS

REF: LAGOS 440

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF REQUIREMENTS

1. AYIDA HAS ASKED USAID DIRECTOR ADLER TO COME IN AT 1:00PM TODAY. I TRUST THIS WILL BE THE "SHOPPING LIST".

2. STATE 6755 JUST RECEIVED INDICATES AID MAY BE IN PROCESS AIRLIFTING TWO PREPACKAGED DISASTER HOSPITALS TO LAGOS. REQUEST THAT THIS ACTION BE SUSPENDED IMMEDIATELY. BELIEVE IT IS WELL UNDERSTOOD, AND ADLER STRESSED THIS IN TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH AID/W THAT NO RELIEF SUPPLIES SHOULD BE SHIPPED TO NIGERIA UNTIL SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED BY FMG. NEED MAY EXIST BUT WE HAVE NO REQUEST FOR PREPACKAGED DISASTER HOSPITALS. GP-3
TRUEHEART

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SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 737

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00441 152104Z

85
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 AID-28 ORM-03 SR-01 SCSE-00 SCA-01
UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 CCO-00 SSO-00
NSCE-00 USIE-00 RSR-01 /144 W
---------- 068111

O 151636Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 868
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY
CINCSTRIKE
MAC CP SCOTT AFB

UNCLAS LAGOS 441

SUBJECT: GOWON REPLY TO EFFIONG STATEMENT

REF: LAGOS 433

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF GOWON STATEMENT:

2. I HAVE HERE TESTIMONY THAT THE REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA NOW CEASES TO EXIST AND THAT WE HAVE BEEN REUNITED WITH OUR BROTHERS, SOME OF THEM WHO ARE HERE AND THE REST OF THEM WHO ARE NOW IN THE CENTRAL-EASTERN STATE
MAY I WELCOME YOU BACK TO THE FOLD AND TO GIVE YOU

DECLASSIFIED

MY PERSONAL ASSURANCE,
THE ASSURANCE OF EVERYONE HERE AND THE ASSURANCE
OF THE WHOLE NATION,
SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL, FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
AND TO SAY THAT
YOU CAN REST ASSURED THAT ALL THE GUARANTEES THAT WE
HAVE OFFERED WILL
BE HONORED. WE HAVE GRANTED A GENERAL AMNESTY FOR ALL THOSE
MISGUIDED INTO THE CIVIL WAR. PERSONALLY, I KNOW A LOT OF
YOU AND PERSONALLY I KNOW THAT PROBABLY IF IT WERE NOT BECAUSE
OF OJUKWU'S MADNESS SUCH A
THING MIGHT NOT HAVE HAPPENED TO THIS COUNTRY.

3. BUT, WHERE IS OJUKWU TODAY AFTER LEADING YOU IN
TO SUCH TERRIBLE SUFFERING, DEPRIVATION, HUNGER, STARVATION,
DEATH, KILLING, WHERE IS
OJUKWU TODAY? HE HAS NOW ESCAPED PROBABLY TO GO AND ENJOY
THE MONEY
THAT HE HAS MADE AT YOUR OWN EXPENSE, AT THE EXPENSE OF I-
NNOCENT NIGERIANS.

4. IT IS A PITY THAT WE HAVE TO FIGHT OURSELVES. GOD KNOWS
RIGHT FROM THE BEGINNING NONE OF US HERE WANTED TO SEE THIS
SORT OF THING HAPPEN. YOU ARE
OUR BROTHERS, THAT'S THE REASON WHY WHEN IT WAS IMMINENT THAT
CIVIL WAR
WAS ABOUT TO START A CODE OF CONDUCT WAS ISSUED AND
IN IT ONE OF THE PARAGRAPHS SAID TO THE SOLDIERS, "YOU
MUST REMEMBER THAT SOME OF THE
SOLDIERS THAT LIEUTENANT COLONEL OJUKWU HAS NOW FORCED
TO OPPOSE YOU
WERE ONCE YOUR OLD COMRADES AT ARMS AND WOULD LIKE A
LL TO REMEMBER, SO
YOU MUST THEREFORE TREAT THEM WITH RESPECT AND DIGNITY EXCEPT
ANYONE WHO IS HOSTILE TO YOU. GENTLEMEN, RIGHT FROM THE BE
GINNING WE WANTED TO REDUCE ANTIPATHY AND UNTOLD SUFFERING
AND IN ORDER TO MAKE QUITE SURE
WHATEVER WE DID WE FURTHER WANTED RECONCILIATION MADE EASY
WE MADE IT
A POINT OF DUTY TO INSURE THAT WE DID NOT FIGHT THIS WAR
OUT OF HATRED, OUT OF WICKEDNESS, OUT OF MALICE. THIS IS
THE REASON WHY PROBABLY TODAY

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

WE CAN ACCEPT YOU WITH FULL SINCERITY, WITH A FULL MIND THAT
YOU ARE OUR
BROTHERS BECAUSE RIGHT FROM THE BEGINNING WE HAVE NEVER
TAKEN YOU AS ENEMY AS OJUKWU HAS MADE YOU THINK OF US. BUT THAT IS N-
OW ALL OVER. I WOULD
LIKE YOU TO CONVEY TO ALL THE REMAINING OFFICERS
AND ALL THE SOLDIERS THE ASSURANCES THAT THEY CAN BE
REASSURED OF THE PROMISE OF AMNESTY THAT I HAVE MADE
AND OF THE SECURITY OF LIFE AND PROPERTY OF ALL OF
YOU IN THAT AREA TODAY, AND I WANT TO ASSURE YOU
THAT WE HAVE TAKEN NECESSARY STEPS TO REHABILITATE
PRACTICALLY EVERYONE WHO IS PREPARED TO COME
AND REJOIN US, AND YOU CAN BE REASSURED THAT
MACHINERY IS ALREADY PUT IN MOTION IN ORDER TO
INSURE THAT THIS IS DONE. I SHALL BE MAKING A BROADCAST
LATER ON TONIGHT WITH FULL DETAILS OF WHAT WE INTEND TO
DO, AND I HOPE WE SHALL ALL BE LISTENING TO THE
BROADCAST. I HOPE IT WILL CLEAR THE AIR IN A LOT OF WAYS,
AND I THINK IT WILL SUFFICE TO SAY IT IS GRATIFYING
HERE TO KNOW THAT FROM TODAY WE CAN FORMALLY SAY THIS
IS THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR, THIS IS THE END OF MISERY.
TRUEHEART

DECLASSIFIED

EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 508

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00403 142337Z

81
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
---------- 062230

O R 142307Z JAN 70 ZFF-1
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 846
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ROME

S E C R E T LAGOS 403

EXDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN SITUATION

FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY NEWSOM

1. FOLLOWING HIGHLIGHTS CONVERSATION WITH MAURICE FOLEY JANUARY 14.

2. BRITISH HAVE RECEIVED WRITTEN REQUEST FROM CABINET OFFICE FOR FIFTY LAND ROVERS, FIFTY 5-TON, AND TWENTY 10-TON TRUCKS: HALF OF LAND ROVERS AND 5-TONNERS TO BE SENT BY AIR. IN ADDITION, FMG REQUESTED SIX 800-TON BOAT, AND DRUGS AND MEDICINES TO BE AIR LIFTED BY CIVIL AIRCRAFT.

3. REQUEST ALSO MADE FOR MEDICAL PERSONNEL, BUT SOME CONFUSION REMAINS OVER WHETHER THESE ARE TO BE MILITARY PERSONNEL.

4. FMG HAVE TOLD BRITISH THEY WILL REQUEST HELP FROM U.K., U.S., WEST GERMANY AND SOVIET UNION. LATTER, THEY SAID, MUST BE ASKED BECAUSE OF HELP IN WAR.

5. BRITISH REMAIN CONCERNED OVER WHETHER IRISH PRIESTS CAN REMAIN WITH FLOCKS IN FORMER ENCLAVE AREA. FURTHER, THERE IS FEELING THAT POPE'S RECENT STATEMENTS HAVE MADE FUTURE ALL CATHOLIC SERVICES IN NIGERIA UNCERTAIN. CONSEQUENTLY, FOLEY BEING REQUESTED PROCEED ROME JANUARY 15 FOR AUDIENCE WITH POPE, WITH INTENTION ENCOURAGING POPE MAKE EFFORT REESTABLISH

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SECRET

44

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SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 00403 142337Z

GOOD RELATIONS WITH GOWON.

6. LORD HUNT ARRIVES NIGERIA TODAY. FOLEY SAID FMG HAS PLEDGED FULL COOPERATION, INCLUDING PERMISSION TO VISIT ENCLAVE, POSSIBLY NEXT WEEK.

7. RELIEF REQUEST TO UK WAS GIVEN AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS TODAY; WHILE WE CANNOT BE SURE, WE COULD WELL RECEIVE OUR REQUEST TOMORROW (JAN. 15). GP-2
TRUEHEART

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X file

SECRET 572

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00334 131927Z

45
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
---------- 053581

O R 131725Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 806
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T LAGOS 334

EXDIS

FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY NEWSOM

1. SEPARATE TELEGRAM REPORTS MY CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL GOWON. FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS BASED ON THAT AND SEVERAL OTHER CONVERSATIONS IN LAGOS DURING PAST 24 HOURS.

2. WHAT STRIKES OBSERVER FAMILIAR WITH WASHINGTON SCENE IS TREMENDOUS GAP BETWEEN SITUATION AS VIEWED HERE AND THAT AS VIEWED FROM OUTSIDE.

3. NIGERIANS IN LAGOS CLEARLY GIVE PICTURE CONFIDENCE IF NOT COMPLACENCY AND DO NOT YET SEE MAJOR RELIEF CRISIS FOLLOWING END OF WAR. THEY MAKE STRONG EFFORT CONVINCE VISITOR SITUATION IN HAND AND NIGERIAN ARMY AND RED CROSS ADEQUATELY TAKING CARE OF PEOPLE IN WAR AREA: NO SERIOUS FOOD SHORTAGE EXISTS. IBO CLAN ORGANIZATION PROVIDES DISCIPLINE AND PREVENTS CHAOS. STRICT INSTRUCTION TO TROOPS PREVENT MISTREATMENT EITHER LOCAL POPULATION OR FOREIGNERS. NEEDS LISTED INCLUDE EQUIPMENT, TRANSPORT AND MEDICINE WITH LIMITED EXPATRIATE HELP UNDER NIGERIAN DIRECTION. REFUGEE MOVEMENTS ARE NUMBERED IN THOUSANDS NOT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS.

4. FOREGOING PICTURE OBVIOUSLY IN PART MOTIVATED BY DEEP PRIDE AND SENSITIVITY. GOVERNMENT CLEARLY FEELS THAT REINTEGRATION IBO AREA REQUIRES THAT IBOS RELATE THEIR

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26

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SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 00334 131927Z

REHABILITATION TO OTHER NIGERIANS AND NOT TO FOREIGNERS. COLLABORATION AMONG OUTSIDERS WITHOUT REFERENCE FMG SEEN AS IMPLYING NIGERIA STILL COLONY. THEME THAT REVOLT WAS EFFORT BY OUTSIDERS TO BREAK UP BLACK-RUN NATION MENTIONED IN GOWON STATEMENT REITERATED IN CONVERSATIONS. NIGERIANS RECOGNIZE PROBLEM OF IMAGE EXISTS OUTSIDE BUT THEY ARE MORE CONCERNED WITH THAT INSIDE.

5. PICTURE AS IT LOOKS OUTSIDE NIGERIA CLEARLY CONDITIONED BY EXPERIENCES OF IBOS AND RELIEF WORKERS OVER PAST FEW YEARS EMBELISHED BY HIGHLY EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION OF BIAFRAN CASE. IT IS PICTURE OF SERIOUSLY THREATENED IBOS, OF MASS STARVATION, OF NIGERIAN VINDICTIVENESS TOWARD BOTH IBOS AND FOREIGN RELIEF WORKERS. ALL ELEMENTS MAY STILL BE PRESENT IN SOME FORM.

6. WHILE IT MAY TAKE SOME DAYS DETERMINE WHICH IS REAL PICTURE, FOREGOING EMPHASIZES NEED FOR EARLIEST POSSIBLE OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT SITUATION IN EAST AS WE PLAN OUR NEXT MOVES. I HAVE SOUGHT EMPHASIZE IN TALKS HERE OUR CLEAR RECOGNITIONNIGERIAN SOVEREIGNTY, OUR LIAISON WITH UK BECAUSE OF CLEAR COMMON INTEREST AND FACT OUR OFFERS HAVE BASIC INTEREST NIGERIA AS MOTIVE. AT SAME TIME I HAVE SUGGESTED THAT IF PICTURE SUDDENLY EMERGES IN WORLD PRESS AND FROM RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS WHICH IS AUTHENTICALLY DIFFERENT FROM LAGOS VIEWPOINT REACTION ABROAD COULD BE SHARP, PARTICULARLY IF PRESENT RELIEF OFFERS SPURNED. I HAVE SOUGHT EMPHASIZE TO NIGERIANS THAT IT IS IN THEIR INTERESTS BECAUSE OF ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED FOR THEM TO OPEN DOORS FOR OBSERVERS AND TO MINIMIZE EXPLOITABLE INCIDENTS TO MAXIMUM.

7. IN TIME REMAINING TO ME HERE I SHALL DO BEST TO SEEK CLEAR PICTURE. I HOPE TALK RELIEF WORKERS, AT LEAST ONE MEMBER OBSERVER GROUP AND OTHERS WHO AY HAVE BEEN IN EAST. I TENTATIVELY EXPLORED POSSIBILITY VISITING EAST BUT NIGERIANS OBVIOUSLY NOT INTERESTED. UNTIL PICTURE CLEAR BELIEVE WE MUST OF NECESSITY CONTINUE AS WE ARE NOW DOING, BALANCING BETWEEN OBVIOUS NEED SHOW WE ARE READY AND WILLING TO ASSIST AND CLEAR UNDERSTANDING FINAL DECISIONS UP TO NIGERIA. IN THIS CONNECTION PRESIDENT'S LETTER GENERAL GOWON STRUCK RIGHT NOTE AND AS SEPARATE TEL DEMONSTRATES GENERAL'S APPRECIATION CLEAR. GP-2.

TRUEHEART

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 860

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00142 080918Z

11
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
---------- 024292

O 072320Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 682

'70 JAN 8 AM 9:35

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

S E C R E T LAGOS 142

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA. 1.)

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN PEACE FEELERS

REF: (A) STATE 002306: (B) LONDON 0126: (C) LAGOS 052

1. EMBASSY LAGOS WAS APPROACHED IN SENSE SUGGESTED IN REF (B) BUT ENTIRE AFFAIR ABORTIVE. NOTHING RPT NOTHING DEVELOPED FROM APPROACH AND WE SO INFORMED BRITISH HERE ORALLY.

2. DEPARTMENT REQUESTED SO TO INFORM LONDON TO MEET DEADLINE OUTLINED REF (B).
TRUEHEART

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SECRET

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SE..ET HCE288 SECRET EXDIS

Morris

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00003 040942Z

19
ACTION SS-45

RECEIVED
WHCA

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
---------- 1970 JAN 4 004878Z

P 040924Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 630

S E C R E T LAGOS 052

EXDIS

REF: LAGOS 42

NO FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. CONTACT DID NOT RPT NOT SHOW LAST NIGHT. GP-2
TRUEHEART

SECRET

SECRET EXDIS

EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 780

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00042 031004Z

10
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
---------- 002330

P 031035Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 622

S E C R E T LAGOS 042

EXDIS

REF: LAGOS 027

1. WHEN RAMSAUR ARRIVED AT RENDEZVOUS LAST NIGHT NEATLY DRESSED YOUNG MAN APPEARED, SAID MEETING POSTPONED FOR 24 HOURS "FOR OBVIOUS REASONS", AND PROMPTLY DISAPPEARED.

2. WE PROPOSE TRY AGAIN TONIGHT. ALTHOUGH REASONS FOR POSTPONEMENT NOT OBVIOUS TO US, POSSIBLY CONTACT WISHED TO VERIFY THAT EMBOFF WOULD APPEAR ALONE.
GP-1.
TRUEHEART

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SECRET

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SECRET 081

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00027 021717Z

50
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
---------- 129919

O 021630Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 619

S E C R E T LAGOS 027

EXDIS

1. AT 9:45 THIS MORNING, MAN WHO REFUSED TO IDENTIFY HIMSELF TELEPHONED EMBASSY AND ASKED TO SPEAK TO AMBASSADOR. CALLER TOLD FSO CARR, WHO SPOKE WITH HIM, THAT THERE WAS AT PRESENT A BIAFRAN ENVOY SECRETLY IN LAGOS. HE SAID CONDITIONS IN THE ENCLAVE AND THE MILITARY SITUATION WERE VERY BAD AND THE BIAFRANS WISHED TO "GIVE UP". ENVOY HAD LETTER FROM OJUKWU TO AMBASSADOR REQUESTING HIS MEDIATION WITH FMG AND ENVOY WISHED TO ARRANGE TO SEE HIM. CALLER SOUGHT TO ARRANGE CLANDESTINE MEETING FOR THIS EVENING BUT WAS TOLD BY CARR THAT HE COULD MAKE NO ARRANGEMENTS UNTIL HE CONSULTED ME. MAN AGREED TO CALL BACK THIS AFTERNOON.

2. I IMMEDIATELY REPORTED FOREGOING TO EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND SAID THAT, IF THERE WAS NO FMG OBJECTION, I PROPOSED TO TELL "ENVOY" THAT I WAS PREPARED TO SEE HIM EITHER IN MY OFFICE OR HOUSE OR AT THE HOUSE OF ANOTHER EMBASSY OFFICER. CLARK (WHO HAS REPLACED ENAHORO AND WAS SENIOR OFFICER AT EXTAFF TODAY), AFTER CONSULTING OTHERS IN FMG, INFORMED ME THERE WAS NO OBJECTION PROVIDED EVERYTHING WAS KEPT "ABOVE BOARD." THEY SUGGESTED I BE PARTICULARLY CAREFUL ABOUT MY PERSONAL SECURITY AND, OF COURSE, THEY HOPED I WOULD KEEP THEM INFORMED.

3. AT 4:00 P.M. MAN TELEPHONED AGAIN AND I SPOKE WITH HIM. HE SAID "ENVOY" COULD NOT AT THIS TIME COME TO MY OFFICE OR MY HOUSE OR ANY OTHER EMBASSY HOUSE. HOWEVER, THEY DID NOT INSIST ON SEEING ME AT THIS STAGE AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO DELIVER MESSAGE TO ANYONE I MIGHT CHOOSE TO SEND. AFTER SOME FURTHER DISCUSSION WE WORKED

'70 JAN 2 PM 4:32
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
2

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 00027 021717Z

OUT A TENTATIVE RENDEZVOUS FOR 9:00 P.M. TONIGHT. RAMSAUR WILL BE MET AT THAT POINT AND CONDUCTED TO RESIDENCE OF "ENVOY" WHERE HE IS TO BE GIVEN OJUKWU LETTER AND APPARENTLY HEAR SOME FURTHER ORAL COMMUNICATION. CALLER INDICATED THAT AFTER THIS FIRST MEETING "ENVOY" MIGHT BE PREPARED TO COME OUT OF HIDING AND MEET DIRECTLY WITH ME PROVIDED "SUITABLE GUARANTEES" OF HIS SAFETY COULD BE GIVEN.

4. EXTAFF INDICATES NO OBJECTION TO PROCEEDING ON THIS BASIS. TRUEHEART

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SECRET 672

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10757 171028Z

16
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W
052612

O 171108Z DEC 69 ZFF-1
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 421

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
'69 DEC 17 AM 10:06

S E C R E T LAGOS 10757

EXDIS

S/S PASS ADDIS ABABA, LONDON, PARIS AND USUN

FOR UNDER SECRETARY

REF: STATE 208132

1. ARIKPO RECEIVED ME AT 10:00 A. M. THIS MORNING JUST PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE FOR EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING AT DODAN BARRACKS. HE READ YOUR MESSAGE WITH CARE AND ASKED THAT YOU BE INFORMED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD AND APPRECIATED THE POINTS YOU MADE AND WOULD BRING IT TO THE ATTENTION OF GENERAL GOWON. HE PROCEEDED IMMEDIATELY TO SAY WITH GREAT FIRMNESS THAT HE WAS PERSONALLY CONVINCED THAT OJUKWU DID NOT INTEND TO CARRY ON SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. THE TIME HAD COME TO PUT AN END TO "PROPAGANDA EXERCISES." THE FMG HAD ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE EMPEROR'S INTENTIONS. "IF HE REPLIES THAT THE TALKS ARE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OAU, WE WILL GO; IF NOT, WE WON'T. IT IS AS SIMPLE AS THAT. WE WILL NOT CAPITULATE TO OJUKWU." I SAID THAT WE DID NOT SEE IT AS A QUESTION OF CAPITULATION BUT RATHER ONE OF MAINTAINING A PUBLIC STANCE WHICH WOULD NOT BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY THOSE UNFAMILIAR WITH THE FINE POINTS. ARIKPO SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS WAS OUR VIEW BUT THAT THE FMG HAD A DUTY TO ITSELF AND TO ITS FRIENDS IN THE OAU TO UPHOLD THE POSITION OF THAT ORGANIZATION.

2. WITH ARIKPO MAKING OBVOUS SIGNS OF COLLECTING HIS PAPERS TO HEAD FOR THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING, THERE WAS NO OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE THE DISCUSSION, BUT I VERY

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10757 171028Z

MUCH DOUBT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PROFITABLE TO DO SO IN ANY CASE. IN PARTING ARIKPO CONFIRMED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO REPLY FROM ADDIS TO THEIR REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION. HE PROMISED TO LET ME KNOW IF THERE WERE ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. WE ARE OF COURSE COORDINATING CLOSELY WITH BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION. GLASS WAS SEEING GOWON WITH LORD CARRINGTON AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME AS I CALLED ON ARIKPO. THIS WAS A FAREWELL CALL BY CARRINGTON AND GLASS HAD NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS, THOUGH HE DID INTEND TO USE ANY OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED TO SEEK CLARIFICATION OF THE FMG POSITION. I WILL BE COMPARING NOTES WITH HIM LATER TODAY. GP-2 TRUEHEART

NOTE: NOT PASSED ADDIS ABABA, LONDON, PARIS, USUN BY OC/T.

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SECRET 854

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10237 251809Z

45
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W

065543

P 251655Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 120

S E C R E T LAGOS 10237

EXDIS

DEPT S/S PASS LONDON AND PARIS

REF STATE 195055 AND 196752

1. I SAW ARIKPO THIS MORNING PURSUANT REFTELS. I RE-CALLED HIS URGING UNDERSECRETARY IN OCTOBER TO PRESS FRENCH TO PUT PRESSURE ON OJUKWU TO SUPPORT NEGOTIATIONS IN ONE NIGERIA CONTEXT AND UNDERSECRETARY'S RESPONSE THAT WE COULD TALK WITH FRENCH BUT COULD NOT REPEAT NOT ACT AS FMG BROKER. WE HAD SINCE THEN HAD TALKS WITH FRENCH, NOTABLY UNDERSECRE-TARY'S MEETING WITH SCHUMANN NOV 12 AND THOUGH IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL FOR HIM TO KNOW OUR IMPRESSIONS FRENCH ATTITUDES PARTICULARLY IF HE HIMSELF WAS GOING TO PARIS AS AMBASSADOR IYALLA HAD INDICATED HE PLANNED TO DO.

2. I SAID IT WAS OUR IMPRESSION THAT BASIC FRENCH ATTI-TUDE HAD NOT CHANGED ALTHOUGH THEY SEEMED VERY READY TO CARRY ON DIALOGUE ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS. FURTHER THEY CON-TINUED TO TAKE THE POSITION THAT THEY DID NOT INSIST ON INDEPENDENCE FOR BIAFRA BUT PROFESSED TO BE MORE CONCERNED WITH THE FUTURE OF THE PEOPLES INVOLVED RATHER THAN WITH PARTICULAR INSTITUTIONS. THAT BEING THE CASE THE PRINCIPAL SUGGESTION WE COULD MAKE TO ARIKPO WAS THAT IN ANY CONVER-SATION HE MIGHT HAVE WITH THE FRENCH IT WOULD BE WELL TO STRESS FMG UNDERTAKINGS WITH REGARD TO REINTEGRATION OF IBOS INTO SOCIETY, CIVIL SERVICE AND MILITARY AND ON GUARAN-TEES FOR SECURITY OF IBOS, PARTICULARLY FMG READINESS TO HAVE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS.

SECRET

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3. ARIKPO SAID HE APPRECIATED BEING KEPT INFORMED ON OUR TALKS WIH THE FRENCH AND WAS GLAD TO HAVE SUGGES-TIONS ON BEST POINTS TO PUSH WITH THEM. HE HAD IN FACT PLANNED TO GO TO PARIS LAST WEEK OR THIS WEEK BUT NOW WOULD NOT BE GOING BEFORE MID DECEMBER. HE SAID THAT QUITE FRANKLY IT WAS SCHUMANN'S STATEMENT BEFORE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON NOV 4 (PARIS 17251) WHICH HAD CAUSED HIM TO DEFER HIS VISIT. SCHUMANN SEEMED TO ARIKPO TO BE TAKING IF ANYTHING A HARDER LINE THAN DE GAULLE. HE HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY STRUCK BY STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT AT A LATER DECISIVE STAGE FRANCE MIGHT BE ABLE TO INTERVENE EFFECTIVELY AND IT WAS THIS SPECIFIC STATEMENT WHICH HAD LED HIM TO PUT OFF TRIP. WHEN ASKED WHAT HE THOUGH SCHUMANN MEANT BY THIS RATHER DELPHIC REMARK ARIKPO SAID HE WAS NOT SURE BUT WAS SEEKING CLARIFICATION BEFORE GOING TO PARIS. (WE HAVE HAD INDICA-TIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES THAT ARIKPO DEFERRED TRIP PENDING DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY OFFENSIVE WHICH IS REPORTEDLY IM-PENDING. CONCEIVABLY CITATION OF SCHUMANN'S REFERENCE TO "DECISIVE STAGE" WAS ARIKPO'S OBLIQUE WAY OF TELLING ME THAT THIS WAS TRUE REASON FOR DEFERRAL OF VISIT.)

4. IN COURSE OF CONVERSATION I MENTIONED THAT FRENCH APPEARED TO FEEL THATAFRICAN POWERS WERE IN BEST POSITION TO BRING ABOUT NEGOITATED SETTLEMENT AND SAW LITTLE THAT OUTSIDERS COULD DO. I HOPED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT ARIKPO'S OWN TRAVELS, MOST RECENTLY TO ADDIS ABABA, HAD BEEN PRODUCTIVE. ARIKPO REPLIED THAT THEY HAD THAT HE# THOUGHT IN FACT THERE WAS A DEFINITE MOVEMENT FAVORABLE TO THE FMG EVERYWHERE, WITH THE IMPORTANT EXCEPTION OF THE IVORY COAST.
GP-2.
TRUEHEART.

NOTE: AS RECEIVED.
VERIFICATION UPON REQUEST.

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FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 61

S E C R E T LAGOS 10134

EXDIS

SS PASS LONDON AND PARIS

REF STATE 195055

1. I HAVE REQUESTED APPOINTMENT WITH ARIKPO FOR EARLY NEXT WEEK, PRINCIPALLY TO GO OVER OUR TALKS WITH FRENCH AS REQUESTED REFTEL. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO KNOW MAIN POINTS COVERED WITH IYALLY, PARTICULARLY WHETHER HE WAS TOLD ANYTHING ABOUT OUR IDEAS ON AFRICAN MEDIATOR, " INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE," AND OFFER OF SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCES FOR RELIEF, RESETTLEMENT, AND RECONSTRUCTION (PARA 4 OF LONDON 92111). I WOULD NOT RPT NOT PROPOSE TO GO INTO LATTER UNLESS THESE IDEAS HAVE ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED WITH IYALLA.

2. FROM WHAT WE ARE ABLE TO PICK UP HERE IT DOES NOT LOOK AS IF ARIKPO WILL BE GOING TO PARIS IN NEAR FUTURE. ACCORDING TO ENAHORO(EXTAFF) ARIKPO HAD ORIGINALLY THOUGHT OF GOING NEXT WEEK BUT THIS IS NOW DEFINITELY OUT. ENAHORO DOES THINK HE WILL GO BEFORE CHRISTMAS. ON OTHER HAND FRENCH AMBASSADOR TOLD ME YESTERDAY DURING COURTESY CALL THAT BE HAD HEARD NOTHING ABOUT A PARIS TRIP. WHEN I SAID THAT WE HAD RATHER DEFINITE INDICATIONS THAT IT WAS HIS INTENTION TO GO, BARBEY REPLIED "C'EST UNE INTENTION PERMANENTE."
GP-2.
TRUEHEART

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APPROVED BY:AF- W BEVERLY CARTER JR.
S/S-HAIRONS
C- MR PEDERSEN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 028689

EXDIS

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S NIGERIA VISIT (PART III OF III)

1. FAVORABLE TONE OF CONVERSATION WITH GOWON WAS FORESHADOWED BY FACT GOWON ADMITTED LARGE NUMBER OF NEWSMEN, BOTH RESIDENT IN LAGOS AND ACCOMPANYING THE SECRETARY, TO HIS QUARTERS WHEN HE AND SEVERAL MEMBERS OF FEDEXCO RECEIVED THE SECRETARY AT DODAN BARRACKS AT NOON. GOWON WAS CHARMING, IN CHARGE OF THE SITUATION, AND PATIENT. HE ALLOWED THE STILL AND TV CAMERAMEN TO RUSH ONE ANOTHER AROUND FOR 15 MINUTES BEFORE PRIVATE MEETING BEGAN.

2. GOWON OPENED THE TWO-HOUR MEETING BY TELLING THE SECRETARY HE HAD COME TO A NEW NIGERIA. QUOTE WAR HAS CHANGED THINGS AND THE COUNTRY IS NOW A NATION. INDEPENDENCE MEANS MORE TO US IN 1970 THAN IT DID IN 1960. JUDGE US FOR WHAT WE ARE END QUOTE HE THEN SAID HE DIDN'T BELIEVE IN HIDING FACTS AND WANTED THE DISCUSSIONS TO BE STRAIGHTFORWARD. HE SAID THIS APPROACH WAS BOTH CHARACTERISTIC OF NIGERIANS AND AMERICANS. HE OPINED THIS WAS A GOOD OMEN FOR FUTURE US/FMG RELATIONS.

3. SECRETARY THEN DEALT WITH MISUNDERSTANDING WHICH HAD DEVELOPED, BUT SAID THEY NEED NOT BE STUMBLING BLOCK, NOTING

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USG HAD RECOGNIZED NIGERIAN GOVT THROUGHOUT AND HAD REFRAINED FROM ANY INVOLVEMENT. HE THEN PRESENTED THE LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NIXON WHICH GENERAL GOWON READ VERY CAREFULLY. GOWON SEEMED GENUINELY PLEASED AT THE PRESIDENTIAL LETTER AND SAID HE ACCEPTED THE INVITATION IN PRINCIPLE. HE SAID HE WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH AMBASSADOR TRUEHEART WHEN HE FELT HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO MAKE THE VISIT. HE REFLECTED THAT THIS WOULD BE HIS SECOND US VISIT, HAVING TRAVELED TO AMERICAN IN 1964 ON A TRAINING ASSIGNMENT.

4. GOWON THEN ASKED THE SECRETARY IF HE OR THE USG HAD ANY QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS THE SECRETARY WISHED TO RAISE. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD NO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS. HE WANTED TO HEAR GOWON'S VIEWS. USG WOULD ALSO LIKE TO LEARN IF ANY NEEDS EXISTED IN WHICH NIGERIA WOULD LIKE US HELP.

5. THE GENERAL SAID NOW THE WAR IS OVER, THERE IS AN URGENT NATIONAL NEED FOR RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION. HE SAID HE HAD GIVEN ORDERS DURING THE WAR NOT TO DESTROY HUMAN LIFE OR BUILDINGS, BRIDGES, ROADS OR OTHER FACILITIES WHEREVER IT COULD BE AVOIDED. HE CITED HIS CONGO EXPERIENCE WHEN HE HAD SEEN SO MUCH INDISCRIMINATE DESTRUCTION. GOWON CHARGED THE FLEEING REBELS WITH MOST OF THE DESTRUCTION. HE SAID ENTIRE COUNTRY HAD SUFFERED AS RESULT OF WAR, WITH DEVELOPMENT POSTPONED. HE SAID BRIDGES HAD BEEN DESTROYED, ROADS HAD NOT BEEN MAINTAINED AND THERE HAD BEEN NO NEW CONSTRUCTION.

6. ON RELIEF, GOWON ADMITTED ASIKA HAD SENT AN ALARMING SIGNAL A WEEK EARLIER, BUT QUOTE YESTERDAY END QUOTE HAD CALLED TO SAY SITUATION WAS MUCH MORE IN HAND. ACCORDING GOWON ASIKA SAYS NEED NO LONGER REMAINS FOR URGENT FOOD INPUT, BUT THERE IS NEED NOW FOR PREFABRICATED HOUSING. ASIKA IS NOW PREPARING A LIST OF WHAT IS NEEDED FOR EAST CENTRAL STATE. GOWON SAID GOVT EXPECTED TO MOVE FROM RELIEF STAGE TO REHABILITATION STAGE BY APRIL.

7. GOWON THEN WENT THROUGH DISCUSSION OF PORT FACILITY SITUATION AND ADDED PRESSURE ON LAGOS HARBOR AS RESULT PORT HARCOURT'S BEING OUT OF USE. HE COMMENTED ON FACT CONTE-LONG AMENDMENT HAD CAUSED US TO CUT CONTRIBUTION FOR PORT HARCOURT-OWERRI ROAD IN HALF AND ROAD COULD NOT BE FINISHED. GOVT OFFICIALS HAD NOT REVEALED CUTS AND REASONS TO NIGERIAN PRESS AS THEY DID

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NOT WANT TO CREATE US-NIGERIAN DIFFICULTIES.

8. SECRETARY SAID HE THOUGHT PROBLEMS OF NIGERIA WITH US WERE MORE THOSE RESULTING FROM PUBLIC OPINION AND SEPARATE POWERS OF THE CONGRESS, NOT FROM THE ADMINISTRATION. GOWON SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THIS, BUT FELT THERE HAD BEEN PRESS EXCESSES, ESPECIALLY TV CLIPP. GOWON SAID MANY NIGERIAN STUDENTS IN US HAD WRITTEN TO LAGOS COMPLAINING ABOUT PRO-BIAFRAN PRESS PLAY. HE EXPRESSED GREAT ANNOYANCE WITH ATTITUDE "INTERNATIONAL PRESS" IN NIGERIA.

9. GOWON ALSO EXPRESSED SOME ANNOYANCE AT REPEATED QUESTIONS FROM PRESS ABOUT SOVIET INFLUENCE. HE SAID NIGERIANS WERE NOT FAVORABLE TO COMMUNISM BY NATURE AND IT WOULD TAKE GENERATIONS TO MAKE NIGERIANS COMMUNISTS. HE SAID THERE WERE NO POLITICAL STRINGS ATTACHED TO NIGERIAN PURCHASES FROM RUSSIA, NOTING NIGERIA HAD PAID FOR EVERYTHING IT GOT. SECRETARY SAID USG UNDERSTOOD NIGERIAN PURCHASES OF SOVIET ARMS. HE HOPED GOWON UNDERSTOOD THAT US INTEREST IN NIGERIA WAS NOT DICTATED BY CONCERN ABOUT SOVIETS BUT THAT US WAS INTERESTED IN GOOD RELATIONS WITH NIGERIA ITSELF.

10. SECRETARY THEN ASKED IF FMG WAS INTERESTED IN AMERICAN INVESTMENT. GOWON RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY. HE SAID HIS COMMISSIONERS HAVE TOLD HIM OF VARIOUS INQUIRIES FROM US BUSINESS. GOWON SAID HE THOUGHT FMG LAWS ON INVESTMENT WERE FAIR AND BUSINESSES WERE PROTECTED AGAINST NATIONALIZATION.

11. ON BROADER ISSUES GOWON SAID HE BOWED TO THE MORE EXPERIENCED AFRICAN LEADERS WITH WHOM THE SECRETARY HAD OR WOULD BE MEETING, BUT THAT HE FIRMLY SUPPORTED THE OAU AND APPRECIATED ITS STAND ON THE NIGERIAN CONFLICT. HE SAID THAT IT WAS INTERESTING THAT BIAFRA HAD GOTTEN MUCH SUPPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA, RHODESIA AND PORTUGAL. GOWON SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE A MORE FORTHCOMING USG ATTITUDE ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS, THOUGH HE COMMENDED OUR SUPPORT OF RERTINENT UN RESOLUTIONS. HE STRONGLY CRITIZED PORTUGUESE INVOLVEMENT IN NIGERIA THROUGH SAO TOME AND REITERATED THAT THE RELIEF EFFORT HAD EXTENDED THE WAR.

12. AT END OF MEETING GOWON SAID NIGERIANS "CHERISHED" THE CLOSE RELATIONS WITH US THEY HAD ALWAYS TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

ROGERS

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APPROVED BY:AF:AMB. MOORE
AF/NWG:WHBRUBECK
U/CF:MR. FOLEY
AID/AFR:MR. NORTH
S/S:MR. LLOYD
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T STATE 026875

EXDIS

1. HIGH LEVEL USG HAS ASKED COMPREHENSIVE AND DETAILED REPORT USE STATUS ALL US EQUIPMENT IN LIGHT RECENT PRESS REPORTS WHICH RAISE SERIOUS QUESTION OF EFFECTIVE RELIEF USE OF US CONTRIBUTIONS. THERE IS VERY CONSIDERABLE CONCERN HERE AS TO WHETHER US SUPPLIED VEHICLES ARE IN FACT BEING BROUGHT TO BEAR BY STATE REHAB COMMISSIONS ON RELIEF EFFORT.

2. YOUR REPORTING TO DATE MOST HELPFUL. HOWEVER, TO SUBMIT REPORT WE REQUIRE AS FULL A STATEMENT AS POSSIBLE AS TO WHERE US SUPPLIED JEEPS AND TRUCKS WHICH HAVE LEFT LAGOS NOW ACTUALLY ARE AND WHETHER THEY HAVE ENTERED RELIEF EFFORT. REQUEST REPORT ON MEASURES TAKEN TO COMPLEMENT EFFECTIVE END-USE INSPECTION AS PER LAGOS 1524. WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE FULL STATEMENT AS TO WHAT ASSURANCES ON VERIFICATION EMBASSY AND AID MISSIONS HAVE OBTAINED IN ADDITION LAGOS 1693 THAT US VEHICLES ASSIGNED STATE REHAB COMMISSIONS WOULD BE PUT TO IMMEDIATE RELIEF USE.

3. APPRECIATE THAT THIS INFORMATION MAY NOT BE

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AVAILABLE IN LAGOS AT ALL OR DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN AND POINTS UP IMPORTANCE DISCREET LOW PROFILE MONITORING RELIEF PROGRAM AND END-USE INSPECTION BY MISSION'S FIELD STAFF AS WELL AS URGENCY OF RADIO LINKS BETWEEN HARRIS AND ASHNER AND AID MISSION LAGOS. APPRECIATE THAT EMBASSY HAS NOT SO FAR SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING PERMISSION FOR RADIO CHANNELS, WONDER WHETHER MISSION SHOULD RECONSIDER MERITS OF PROVIDING HARRIS AND ASHNER WITH OPEN CHANNEL RADIOS ANYWAY, AS COMTEMPLATED SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE TO RETURN MEMBERS OF FIELD STAFFS FOR, SAY, WEEKLY BRIEFINGS TO LAGOS AS SUGGESTED IN EARLIER MESSAGE. CYCLE OF REPORTING TO WASHINGTON COULD BE GEARED TO THESE BRIEFINGS, WITH FIELD STAFF RETURNING TO LAGOS EVERY WEEKEND AND WEEKLY SITUATION REPORTS TO WASHINGTON SAY EVERY TUESDAY.

4. NORTH-ADLER MESSAGE BEING SENT SEPTEL SUPPLEMENTS THIS MESSAGE.
RICHARDSON

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APPROVED BY: AF - W. BEVERLY CARTER, JR
S/S - MR. IRONS
C - MR. PEDERSEN
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 028521

EXDIS

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S NIGERIA VISIT (PART I OF III)

1. SECDEL ARRIVED AT IKEJA AIRPORT 1930 HOURS 19 FEBRUARY AND MET BY REAR ADMIRAL JOSEPH WEY, ACTING COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND OTHER NIGERIAN OFFICIALS. THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PRESSMEN, (ALL MEDIA) LOCAL AND REPRESENTATIVES FOR FOREIGN SERVICES, WERE ASSEMBLED VIP LOUNGE FOR ARRIVAL STATEMENT.

2. 20 FEBRUARY, NIGERIAN SCHEDULE BEGAN 1000 HOURS AT MINISTRY DEFENSE OFFICES WITH WEY CHAIRING. NIGERIANS INCLUDED BABA GANA, PERMANENT SECRETARY, AND B. A. CLARK, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. WEY RECITED LONG STANDING GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN USG AND NIGERIA, POINTING OUT RELATIONS PRE-DATED INDEPENDENCE IN 1960. HE THEN CHARTED DECLINE BEGINNING OUTSET OF REBELLION IN 1967 WHEN US WAS ASKED GRANT PERMISSION FMG PURCHASE AIRCRAFT, ARMS AND AMMO NEEDS FROM AMERICAN SOURCES AND REQUEST DENIED. WEY STRESSED NIGERIAN PUBLIC COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY US HAD SEEN NECESSITY FOR PUBLIC DENIAL OF CONFIDENTIAL REQUEST AND THEN PUBLIC REBUKE OF FEDS AND SOVIETS WHEN PURCHASES CONSUMMATED WITH RUSSIANS.

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3. WEY SAID ABOVE FACTS PLUS PUBLIC OPINION AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT OJUKWU IN U.S. GAVE RISE TO FEELING ON PART NIGERIANS THAT USG REALLY BACKED REBELS. THIS CONFIRMED IN NIGERIAN MINDS WHEN BIAFRAN B-25 (US MANUFACTURED) AIRCRAFT SHOT DOWN.

4. THE REAR ADMIRAL THEN EXPLAINED HOW RELIEF SHIPMENTS TO REBELS SERVED AS COVER FOR ARMS AND SERVED SUSTAIN SECESSION FOR LONGER PERIOD THAN OTHERWISE MIGHT HAVE OCCURRED. WEY FELT THIS PROLONGATION OF WAR WAS CONTRIBUTORY TO UNNECESSARY LOSS OF LIFE. THE SECRETARY STRESSED HUMANITARIAN GOALS OF U.S., BOTH OFFICIALLY AND PRIVATELY, AND THEN POINTED OUT THE GENEROSITY OF THE AMERICANS TO WORTHWHILE CAUSES. THE SECRETARY ALSO TOLD WEY THAT JUST AS FMG APPARENTLY COULD NOT BE CERTAIN OF WHAT NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS WOULD SAY ON GIVEN ISSUE, U.S. GOV'T HAD EVEN LESS INFLUENCE WITH AMERICAN PRESS.

5. WEY EMPHASIZED HIS REMARKS MADE FOR INFORMATION OF SECRETARY AND THAT HE AND OTHER NIGERIANS HAD GREAT AFFECTION FOR AMERICANS. WEY CONCLUDED BY REMINDING SECDEL FMG LEADERSHIP HAD NEVER USED WORD QUOTE ENEMY END QUOTE IN DESCRIBING REBELS. QUOTE THEY WERE OUR BROTHERS END QUOTE, WEY SAID, AND HE THEN RECITED THE FMG QUOTE OPEN DOOR END QUOTE POLICY TOWARD FORMER BIAFRANS, WHICH INCLUDED REINTEGRATION IN BOTH CIVIL AND MILITARY POSITIONS. HE CLAIMED HE HAD SOME FORMER REBELS NOW BACK IN NIGERIAN NAVAL ASSIGNMENTS.

6. THE SECRETARY NEXT MET WITH COMMISSIONER FEMI OKUNNU (WORKS AND HOUSING) AND ALLISON AYIDA, PERMANENT SECRETARY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. OKUNNU WAS FILLING IN FOR COMMISSIONER GUSAU WHO WAS OUT OF CITY. OKUNNU CONSIDERED ONE OF MOST POLITICALLY LEFT IN FMG COUNCILS AND MEMBER COMMITTEE OF TEN, WAS UNUSUALLY GRACIOUS (AS HAD BEEN WEY) IN RECEIVING SECRETARY. HE REPEATED NIGERIAN DISAPPOINTMENT AT USG'S DECLARATION OF NEUTRALITY AT OUTSET OF CONFLICT BUT NOW FEELS QUOTE WE CAN DESCRIBE OURSELVES AS OLD FRIENDS END QUOTE.

7. OKUNNU CLAIMED RELIEF SITUATION MUCH IMPROVED AND DISTRIBUTION QUOTE WELL IN HAND END QUOTE. HE SAID FMG

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NOW GEARING UP FOR SECOND PHASE OF PROGRAM WHICH CALLS FOR RESETTLING DISPLACED ON THEIR OLD HOMELANDS. HE SAID THIRD PHASE, STILL SOMEWHAT AWAY, WAS PHYSICAL RECONSTRUCTION THROUGHOUT THE NATION. THE COMMISSIONER SAID TIME WAS OF THE ESSENCE.

8. OKUNNU DIDN'T MISS THE OFTEN TAKEN OPPORTUNITY OF COMPLAINING ABOUT SLOWNESS AND PROCEDURES OF US ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS. HE REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT'S FIVE YEAR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM SET FORTH IN 1963 AND THE STILL NOT COMPLETED WESTERN AVENUE EXTENSION TO WHICH USG HAD COMMITTED ITSELF.

9. COMMENTING ON FMG'S ASSISTANCE NEEDS IN DAYS AHEAD, AYIDA SAID MOST USEFUL AID SHOULD COME IN FORM PROGRAM SUPPORT. HE SAID HIS MINISTRY NOW PREPARING OVER-ALL RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM WHICH HOPES HAVE READY IN APRIL, 1970. AYIDA SAID WORLD BANK ALSO INTERESTED AND SUBMITTING PROPOSAL, BUT NIGERIANS WOULD PREFER BILATERAL ASSISTANCE FROM U.S.

10. SECRETARY SAID USG WOULD LIKE BE RESPONSIVE AND HE WOULD DIRECT WE EXPLORE PROCEDURES, PERHAPS ON A POST-WAR CRASH BASIS, WHICH MIGHT PERMIT MORE RAPID FOLLOW-UP. GP-3. ROGERS

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APPROVED BY: AF - W. BEVERLY CARTER, JR.
S/S - MR. IRONS
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 028520

EXDIS

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S NIGERIA VISIT (PART II OF III)

1. SECRETARY NEXT CALLED ON GOVERNOR, LAGOS STATE, COL. M. O. JOHNSON AND HIS FINANCE COMMISSIONER, SONNY ADEWOLE. GOVERNOR SAID HE WAS PLEASED WELCOME SECRETARY AND WAS DOING HIS BEST ASSURE SECRETARY PEOPLE OF LAGOS QUOTE ARE WITH YOU END QUOTE. JOHNSON SAID APPROACH OF QUOTE LOOK, LISTEN AND LEARN END QUOTE, ESPECIALLY APPRECIATED BY NIGERIANS.

2. SECRETARY REFERRED TO HIS 1960 VISIT TO NIGERIA AND SAID HE THEN AND STILL IMPRESSED WITH VITALITY OF THE NATION. HE SAID HE BELIEVED MOST US/FMG PROBLEMS HAD ARISEN RESULT OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS. SECRETARY SAID US NOW PREPARED TO DEMONSTRATE ITS CONCERN AND INTEREST BY DEEDS.

3. DURING THE FIRST PART OF THE MEETING NIGERIAN TV AND NEWSMEN WERE PERMITTED COVER THE WELCOMING EXCHANGE. AFTER THEY HAD BEEN DISMISSED JOHNSON BECAME A BIT MORE SERIOUS AND SAID HE WANTED SPEAK MORE FRANKLY ABOUT ACTUAL SITUATION BETWEEN US AND NIGERIA. HE REPEATED COMPLAINTS MADE IN EARLIER SESSIONS, BUT ADDED COMMENTS AND SPEECHES MADE BY CANDIDATES IN US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN HAD NOT HELPED. HE ALSO STRUCK AT FIRST US REACTION FOLLOWING CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES,

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IN WHICH USG ANNOUNCED WILLINGNESS ASSIST IN
DOUBLING OBSERVER FORCE. JOHNSON SAID THIS INTERPRETED IN
NIGERIA AS US LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN STATED INTENTIONS FMG.

4. THE GOVERNOR SAID NIGERIANS WANT TO BE AND EXPECT TO
BE TREATED AS EQUALS. HE SAID, QUOTE LET US ASK FOR WHAT
WE THINK WE NEED. DON'T TRY TO FORCE US TO TAKE WHAT YOU
THINK WE NEED END QUOTE.

5. JOHNSON ON HIS OWN RAISED RUSSIAN SITUATION. HE SAID
NIGERIANS NOT INTERESTED IN ANY OF THE ISMS. HE CLAIMED
FEDS HAD PAID FOR SOVIET EQUIPMENT, THEREFORE OWED THEM NOTHING.
SAID US HAS EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY IN NIGERIA. HE CALLED FOR
MORE AMERICAN COMPANIES AND COMPLAINED THERE HAD NEVER BEEN US TRADE
MISSION TO NIGERIA. GP-3.
ROGERS

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SUMMARY

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DRAFTED BY: NIGERIA WORKING GROUP - GBSHERRY
APPROVED BY: AF - C. ROBERT MOORE
U/CF - MR. FOLEY (INFO)
AFR/CWA - MR. NORTH
S/PC - MR. RUSER
S/S-O - BFLATIN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 026972

EXDIS

JOINT STATE/AID MESSAGE

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF--HELICOPTERS

REF (A) LAGOS 1912 (B) LAGOS 1913

1. DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN EMBASSY RECOMMENDATION THAT AYIDA BE TOLD WE WOULD PREFER RETURN HELICOPTERS TO U.S. IF CLEARANCE FOR USE IN RELIEF AREA NOT GRANTED WITHIN A REASONABLE TIME.

2. WE WISH AVOID DILUTING POSITIVE EFFECTS SECRETARY'S CONVERSATIONS WITH GOWON AND FMG LEADERSHIP. THEREFORE, HELICOPTER ISSUE SHOULD BE TREATED IN MATTER-OF-FACT FASHION, AND WITHOUT IN ANY WAY IMPLYING AN ULTIMATUM. FMG DECISION ON USE OF HELICOPTERS IS GOVERNING FACTOR AND OUR INTEREST IS THE TECHNICAL ONE OF SEEING THAT HELICOPTERS ARE PUT TO EFFECTIVE USE.

3. ALTHOUGH RECOGNIZING AND SHARING DESIRE FOR PROMPT RESOLUTION HELICOPTER ISSUE, PRINCIPLE CRITERIA IN SETTING TONE OF APPROACH TO AYIDA SHOULD BE:

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A. TO PRESERVE GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH FMG, PARTICULARLY ADLER-AYIDA, AND

B. TO AVOID URGING ACTIONS THAT COULD EMBARRASS OR WEAKEN POSITION AYIDA AND OTHERS IN FMG SYMPATHETIC TO RELIEF EFFORT.

4. EMBASSY SHOULD INDICATE TO AYIDA THAT WHILE WE--AND WE BELIEVE FMG--SAW GREAT UTILITY IN RELIEF EFFORT FOR HELICOPTERS BOTH FOR EXPEDITING TRAVEL MEDICAL/RELIEF TEAMS AND FOR EMERGENCY DELIVERY OF LIMITED QUANTITIES OF FOODSTUFFS TO REMOTE AREAS OF NEED, WE WILL, OF COURSE, BE GUIDED BY FMG'S DECISION ON USE OF HELICOPTERS. IF FMG REALLY WANTS HELICOPTERS, THEY WILL REMAIN AVAILABLE IN EXPECTATION THAT ALL REQUIRED CLEARANCES, INCLUDING MILITARY, WILL BE FORTHCOMING WITHIN A REASONABLE TIME. IF FMG DOES NOT WANT TO EMPLOY HELICOPTERS, WE WANT TO KNOW SOON SO THAT ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE MADE FOR THE RETURN OF THE MACHINES TO THE U.S.

5. FYI: ALTHOUGH RELATIVE NEED FOR HELICOPTERS MAY HAVE DIMINISHED, WE NEVERTHELESS BELIEVE HELICOPTERS CAN SERVE A VERY USEFUL PURPOSE IN RELIEF EFFORT AND FURTHER REHABILITATION WORK, AT LEAST UNTIL TRANSPORT ARRANGEMENTS FURTHER IMPROVED.
END FYI.
RICHARDSON

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66640
DRAFTED BY:U/CF:AE DEWEY
APPROVED BY:U/CF:JW FOLEY
AFR/CWA:MR. NORTH
NWG:MR. BRUBECK
S/PC:MR. RUSER
OSD/ISA:COL. HAMILTON
USA/IA:COL. RAMSEY
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O 192045Z FEB 70 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 025316

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - DEWEY REPLACEMENT

1. THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE HAS DECIDED THERE SHOULD BE A U/CF REPLACEMENT FOR DEWEY PERFORMING FUNCTIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE HE UNDERTOOK WHILE IN LAGOS.

2. PERSON SELECTED IS LEROY (JIM) DANNER, DEPT OF ARMY CIVILIAN. HE IS SECONDED TO U/CF FROM SPECIAL PROJECTS OFFICE, ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND. DANNER COMBINES STRONG TECHNICAL BACKGROUND (TRANSPORT MANAGEMENT AND AUTOMOTIVE MAINTENANCE) WITH BROAD MANAGERIAL TALENTS. HE HAS WORKED WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (THAILAND AND PAKISTAN) IN THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. MORE RECENTLY HE HAS HANDLED DELICATE TROUBLE-SHOOTING ASSIGNMENTS UNDER DIRECT SUPERVISION OF THE COMMANDING GENERAL, USAMC.

3. IT IS ENVISAGED THAT HIS MISSION IN LAGOS WILL BE TO ASSIST THE AMBASSADOR AND AID MISSION DIRECTOR WHEREVER NEEDED IN THEIR MANAGEMENT OF US INPUTS TO THE RELIEF EFFORT AND THEIR

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SURVEILLANCE OF PERFORMANCE OF THE RELIEF DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM. SIMILARLY, THIS ASSIGNMENT IS DESIGNED TO ASSIST, AND IN NO WAY CIRCUMSCRIBE, THE FUNCTIONS OF THOMASON IN HIS ROLE AS PRINCIPAL RELIEF OPERATOR. PURPOSE IS TO PROVIDE DIRECT LIAISON BETWEEN MISSION IN ITS OPERATING RESPONSIBILITIES AND U/CF WITH ITS SPECIAL WASHINGTON RESPONSIBILITIES AND CONCERNS.

4. RE REPORTING CHANNELS, WHILE THERE WILL DOUBTLESS BE INSTANCES WHERE REPORTS WILL NOTE DANNER'S INDEPENDENT VIEWS, IT IS EXPECTED THAT IN MAJORITY OF CASES HIS INPUT WILL BE PART OF COUNTRY TEAM REPORTS AND ASSESSMENTS.

5. EXPECTED DURATION LAGOS ASSIGNMENT IS 30 DAYS. DANNER SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE 1135 FEB 22 VIA PANAM 151. REQUEST MEET AND ARRANGE BILLETING WITH WOOD IF FEASIBLE.
RICHARDSON

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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DRAFTED BY:NWG:WHBRUBECK
APPROVED BY:AF:AMB MOORE
S/PC:MR RUSER
S/S:WLLOYD
WH:COL KENNEDY

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TO AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 025127

EXDIS

TOSEC 178

REF: LAGOS 1402

1. PRESIDENT WISHES MAKE YOUR VISIT TO LAGOS AS SUCCESSFUL AS POSSIBLE WITH REGARD TO IMPROVING PROSPECTS FOR EFFECTIVE USG ASSISTANCE TO AND COOPERATION WITH NIGERIA IN PRESENT CRITICAL RELIEF EFFORT. ON BASIS AMBASSADOR TRUEHEART RECOMMENDATION (REFTEL) HE WOULD LIKE YOU TO EXTEND INVITATION TO GENERAL GOWON FOR VISIT TO U.S. AT A DATE TO BE DTERMINED LATER. DATE AND TYPE OF VISIT SHOULD BE KEPT AS VAGUE AS POSSIBLE.

2. IN EXTENDING INVITATION, SUGGEST YOU ACKNOWLEDGE PRESIDENT'S APPRECIATION THAT GENERAL GOWON'S PRESENT HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES MAKE EARLY VISIT IMPRACTICABLE. HOWEVER, PRESIDENT WISHES GENERAL GOWON TO KNOW HE WOULD WELCOME VISIT AS EVIDENCE U.S. INTEREST IN NIGERIA AND OF CORDIAL U.S.-NIGERIAN RELATIONS. HE WOULD THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT AT A LATER DATE, WHEN GENERAL GOWON ABLE TO CONSIDER POSSIBLE ABSENCE FROM NIGERIA FOR REQUIRED PERIOD, HE INFORM AMBASSADOR TRUEHEART AND A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY DATE CAN BE ARRANGED AT THAT TIME.

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3. PRESIDENT DESIRES THAT NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PROPOSED VISIT BE MADE AT THIS TIME.
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APPROVED BY:AF:MOORE
AID/AFR/CWA:NORTH
U/CF:FOLEY
S/S:LLOYD

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 025073

EXDIS

1. THERE IS GREAT HIGH LEVEL CONCERN HERE STILL RE STATUS OF REMAINING US-CONTRIBUTED MATERIAL WHICH HAS NOT YET GONE TO FIELD. APPRECIATE FULLEST EFFORT EXPEDITE AND REPORT HERE SOONEST ON CURRENT STATUS FURTHER SHIPMENTS TO FIELD AND ETD OF REMAINDER.
RICHARDSON

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INFO OCT-01 /046 R

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DRAFTED BY: AF/NWG:WHBRUBECK
APPROVED BY: AF - AMB. MOORE
S/S - MR. HAWLEY
S/PC - MR. RUSER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

'70 FEB 14 PM 2:29
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

S E C R E T STATE 023048

EXDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR

1. APPRECIATE BURDEN INVOLVED IN HEAVY REPORTING DEMANDS PLACED ON EMBASSY. WE ARE TRYING FORMULATE HERE A SCHEDULE OF REPORTING REQUIREMENTS WHICH HOPEFULLY WILL PERMIT SYSTEMATIC BUT MINIMAL REPORTING AND THUS LIGHTEN EMBASSY LOAD, WHILE MEETING WASHINGTON INFORMATION REQUIREMENTS.

2. MUST EMPHASIZE HOWEVER THAT THERE IS CONTINUING KEEN INTEREST AND CONCERN AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT HERE AS EVIDENCED BY REACTION TO UPI STORY RE BUILDUP US MATERIALS LAGOS AND CONSEQUENT ENQUIRIES TO EMBASSY.

3. WHILE HOPEFUL DEFINITION OF REQUIREMENTS (PARA ONE) MAY HELP EMBASSY MEET PROBLEM, BELIEVE THOROUGH AND HEAVY REPORTING WILL CONTINUE BE NEEDED FOR SOME TIME. AS INDICATED PREVIOUSLY, WE PREPARED SUPPLY ON TDY ADDITIONAL PERSONNEL WITH NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE WHICH MIGHT HELP EASE LOAD ON PRESENT STAFF. ALSO BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT THAT FULLER INFO FROM FIELD BE SUPPLIED RE ACTUAL SITUATION AND TRENDS. IF ADDITIONAL PERSONNEL REQUIRED IN ORDER STRENGTHEN PORT HARCOURT AND ENUGU

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OFFICES, TO PERMIT FULLER REPORTING, PLEASE ADVISE.
RICHARDSON

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O 141733Z FEB 70
FM RICHARD KENNEDY
TO ROGER MORRIS
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FOLLOWING CABLE APPROVED BY ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE FORWARDED FOR WH CLEARANCE. RECOMMEND IT BE CONSIDERED AS PART OF PACKAGE OF DRAFT LETTER TO GOWON AND DRAFT MESSAGE TO SECRETARY WHICH MORRIS HAS WITH HIM.

ACTION: AMEMBASSY LOGOS PRIORITY
INFO: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA FOR NEWSOM

EXDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM ACTING SECRETARY

1. I AM VERY CONCERNED THAT A MONTH AFTER THE END OF THE WAR THE NIGERIAN RELIEF PROGRAM IS STILL VERY INADEQUATE AND IMPROVING ONLY SLOWLY. EQUALLY DISTURBING IS THAT, IN SPITE OF ALL EFFORTS, THE NIGERIANS HAVE NOT YET RECOGNIZED THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM OR THE FURTHER RESOURCES NEEDED TO MEET IT.

2. I REALIZE THE SENSITIVITY OF THE FMG TO OUR SIDE PRESSURE AND APPRECIATE THE EMBASSY'S DIFFICULT TASK IN BALANCING BETWEEN THE URGENCY OF THE NEED AND THE DIFFICULTY OF EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE ON THE FMG. NEVERTHELESS, I MUST EMPHASIZE THE CONTINUING CONCERN AND HIGH PRIORITY THE PRESIDENT PLACES ON DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN TO MINIMIZE THE HUMAN SUFFERING AND MAKE THE FULLEST CONTRIBUTION TO AN ADEQUATE AND SUCCESSFUL RELIEF PROGRAM.

3. FMG RECOGNITION OF INADEQUACY OF ITS INITIAL RESPONSE TOGETHER WITH APPOINTMENT OF AYIDA, TO CONDUCT PROGRAM RESULTED IN SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN EFFORT AND CORRESPONDING REQUESTS FOR OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE. HOWEVER, SINCE THAT ROUND, I HAVE IMPRESSION FMG SEEMS TO FEEL SITUATION IN HAND, DESPITE EVIDENCE FROM FIELD PROGRAM SIMPLY NOT ADEQUATE OR MOVING FAST ENOUGH. AT SAME TIME, I RECOGNIZE DIFFICULTY OF TACKLING PROBLEM AT POLITICAL LEVEL AND AGREE OUR EFFORTS MUST FOCUS ON PROFESSIONAL-TECHNICAL LEVEL, PARTICULARLY AYIDA.

4. MY CONCERN IS TWOFOLD:

(A) THAT WE CONTINUE, IN MOST EFFECTIVE MANNER, EFFORTS AT PROFESSIONAL LEVEL TO PERSUADE FMG OF GREATER MAGNITUDE OF PROBLEM AND PERSUADE THEM TO ACCEPT HELP THEY NEED TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE TRUCK TRANSPART OPERATION, RELIEF PERSONNEL, MEDICAL PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT, ETC.

(B) THAT WE UTILIZE MISSION RESOURCES TO FULLEST TO EXPEDITE SUPPORT FMG PROGRAM IDENTIFY AND (WHERE POSSIBLE) SOLVE PROBLEMS. FOR EXAMPLE BELIEVE MISSION SHOULD URGENTLY STRENGTHEN STAFF AT PORT HARCOURT AND ENUGU TO PROVIDE BETTER DATA ON ACTUAL LEVEL AND GEOGRAPHIC PATTERN OF RELIEF DISTRIBUTION, TRANSPORT, PROGRESS OF RELIEF ORGANIZATION IN ENCLAVE?

5. I BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT FOR ADEQUATE, CONTINUING APPRECIATION OF SITUATION HERE, THAT EMBASSY PROVIDE FULLEST REPORTING ON ACTUAL SITUATION AND PROGRESS IN ENCLAVE; WHAT IS BEING DONE AND CAN BE DONE TO PERSUADE AYIDA AND OTHERS TO ADEQUATE PROGRAM; WHAT FURTHER NEEDS FOR OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE CAN BE ANTICIPATED IN ORDER TO MEET NEEDS NOT YET ACCEPTED BY FMG.

6. I APPRECIATE ALSO THE REPORTS I HAVE HAD FROMYOU PERSONALLY AND WILL WELCOME YOUR FURTHER ASSESSMENTS OF SITUATION AND RECOMMENDIATIONS FOR USG ACTIONS TO DEAL WITH PROBLEM WHICH SEEMS FROM HERE STILL FAR FROM SATISFACTORY SOLUTION.

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DRAFTED BY:NWG:WHBRUBECK
APPROVED BY: U - THE UNDER SECRETARY
AF - MR. NEWSOM
S/S - MR. BROWN
AID/AFR - MR. NORTH
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WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

R 050252Z FEB 70
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T STATE 017641

EXDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM UNDER SECRETARY

1. CLEARER PICTURE NOW EMERGING OF DIMENSIONS US CONTRIBUTION TO NIGERIAN RELIEF. IN VIEW HEAVY FLOW OF MATERIALS REACHING NIGERIA, I AM CONCERNED AT PROSPECT PROBLEMS ARISING FROM LIMITED NIGERIAN CAPABILITY ABSORB AND UTILIZE THIS INFLUX OF MATERIALS.

2. IN VIEW LARGE COMMITMENT OF US FUNDS INVOLVED EVERY EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO ENSURE THAT THESE RESOURCES ARE WELL AND EFFICIENTLY UTILIZED. I APPRECIATE THAT UNDER THE TIME PRESSURES OF RESPONDING TO THIS HUMANITARIAN NEED, NORMAL PROCEDURES FOR ANALYZING AND JUSTIFYING REQUESTS AND FOR HANDLING OF SUPPLIES HAVE HAD TO BE ABBREVIATED. IT IS IMPORTANT NOW THAT THERE BE THOROUGH ASSESSMENT OF WHAT FURTHER US ADVICE AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE MAY BE NECESSARY TO ASSURE EFFECTIVE NIGERIAN USE OF MATERIEL; AND THAT THOROUGH MISSION SCRUTINY AND CONTROL OF USG PROGRAM BE EXERCISED. I AM CONCERNED THAT WE SHOULD AS REQUIRED BE ABLE TO RENDER ACCOUNT FOR EXPENDITURE OF AMERICAN FUNDS AND SUBSEQUENT USE OF MATERIEL TO DEMONSTRATE

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THAT MONEY WAS WISELY AND EFFICIENTLY SPENT AND, TO MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE, SERVED THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH IT WAS INTENDED.

3. I RECOGNIZE THAT RESOURCES OF MISSION UNDOUBTEDLY STRAINED IN MEETING HEAVY DEMANDS CURRENTLY BEING PUT ON IT. WOULD THEREFORE APPRECIATE YOUR CONSIDERING THIS MATTER CAREFULLY WITH USAID DIRECTOR ADLER AND ADVISING US OF ANY ADDITIONAL PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS YOU MAY HAVE DURING THE CURRENT PERIOD IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT EFFECTIVELY THE PURPOSES OUTLINED ABOVE. WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE YOUR REPORTING REGULARLY ANY PROBLEMS YOU SEE DEVELOPING RE CONDUCT OF RELIEF PROGRAM AND HANDLING OF US MATERIEL WHICH WOULD POSE QUESTIONS OF EFFICIENT CONDUCT US PROGRAM.
ROGERS

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DRAFTED BY: NIGERIA WORKING GROUP:GBSHERRY
APPROVED BY: AF: DAVID D NEWSOM
NWG:MR BRUBECK
AFR/CWA: MR NORTH
FFP: MRS FITZCHARLES
U/CF: MR FOLEY
U: MR ABRAMOWITZ
S/S- MR HORNBLOW
WH: MR MORRIS

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O 312120Z JAN 70 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 015480

JOINT STATE/AID MESSAGE

REF (A) LAGOS 1116 (B) STATE 15117 (C) LAGOS 1102 (D) LAGOS 1012

1. DEFERRAL ACTION ON NIGERIAN FOOD SHIPMENTS AS REQUESTED REF (A) WILL MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE MEET 9,000 TONS PER WEEK WESTERN REQUIREMENT IN VIEW 3-4 WEEK DELIVERY LEAD TIME.

2. BEFORE TAKING ACTION TO INTERRUPT SCHEDULED SHIPMENTS, AND THERBY RISKING NOT BEING ABLE KEEP PIPELINE FULL ON BASIS PRESENT 9,000 TON PER WEEK REQUIREMENT, WE MUST KNOW WHETHER THIS WEEKLY REQUIREMENT NOW CHANGED AND WHAT NEW FIRM PLANNING FIGURE SHOULD BE USED AS BASIS PROCRUEMENT AND SHIPPING. ALSO REQUEST CLARIFICATION 36,000 TONS IMPORTED FOOD AVAILABLE CITED REF (A). PRESUME THIS INCLUDES 8,400 TONS U.S. PL 480 SHIPMENTS NOW CALLED FORWARD

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IDENTIFIED REF (D).

3. DEPARTMENT ALSO CONCERNED AT ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES AND EMBARRASSMENT WHICH WILL RESULT FROM CANCELLING SHIFTING AND/OR BOOKINGS LISTED REF (B) WHICH MADE WITH SHIPPING COMPANIES ON EXTRAORDINARY URGENT BASIS AND SHORT NOTICE.

4. REQUEST URGENT REPLY. GP-3
ROGERS

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DRAFTED BY: NIGERIA WORKING GROUP: WILLIAM H BRUBECK
APPROVED BY: AF: DAVID D. NEWSOM
S/S- MR HORNBLOW

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P 312026Z JAN 70
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 015471

EXDIS

REF: LAGOS 1081

1. IN VIEW OBASANJO OBVIOUS IMPORTANCE TO RELIEF PROGRAM WE WANT TO BE AS RESPONSIVE TO HIM AS WE CAN. YOU SHOULD THEREFORE TELL HIM THAT WE OF COURSE WELCOME HIS VISIT TO U.S. WHENEVER HE FINDS IT USEFUL TO COME. IN ORDER MAKE HIS VISIT AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE WOULD LIKE TO PLAN MEET HIS REQUIREMENTS. WE THEREFORE WELCOME FURTHER INDICATION AS TO WHOM HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE, WHERE HE WOULD LIKE TO GO AND PARTICULAR PROBLEMS ON WHICH WE COULD BE WORKING TO BE OF MOST HELP.

2. WHILE LEAVING TO YOUR DISCRETION LOOKS FROM HERE THAT OBASANJO MIGHT BE HELFPUL IN GETTING APPROVAL C-141 FLIGHTS TO PORT HARCOURT.

3. ALSO LOOKS AS THOUGH THERE MAY BE POTENTIAL RIVALRY DEVELOPING BETWEEN AYIDA AND OBASANJO. WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY COMMENT THIS PROBLEM.

4. FYI: WE UNDERSTAND THERE HAS BEEN CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE AND OGBU IN NEW YORK ABOUT POSSIBLE AYIDA TRIP HERE, IN CONNECTION AAI'S PROPOSED REHABILITATION STUDY GROUP TENTATIVELY PLANNED TO GO NOGERIA AT FMG INVITATION. WE ASSUME IT HIGHLY DESIRABLE AYIDA STAY ON THE SPOT AS KEY MAN IN RELIEF EFFORT, AND HAVE SO ADVISED AAI. REQUEST EMBASSY

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GUIDANCE AS HOW TO AVOID GETTING IN THE MIDDLE BETWEEN OBASANJO
AND AYIDA ON QUESTION OF TRIPS TO U.S. GP-3
ROGERS

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66662
DRAFTED BY:U/CF:JWFOLEY
APPROVED BY:THE UNDER SECRETARY
NWG:MR.BRUBECK
U:MR.ABRAMOWITZ
S/S-O:MR.LEDSKY
WHITE HOUSE:MR.MORRIS(BY PHONE)
---------- 021899

P 300859Z JAN 70
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 014595

SUBJ: U/CF MEDICAL SURVEY TEAM

REF: (A) STATE 12393, (B) STATE 12579

1. DEPT NEEDS URGENTLY WITHIN NEXT TWO OR THREE DAYS PRELIMINARY REPORT BY U/CF MEDICAL SURVEY TEAM AND MORE DETAILED REPORT AS SOON THEREAFTER AS POSSIBLE.

2. IT IMPORTANT IN ORDER MEET THIS TIMETABLE THAT MEDICAL SURVEY TEAM FULLY UTILIZES SERVICES LATHAM AND TAYLOR. BELIEVE THEY WILL ALSO BE OF GREAT VALUE IN FOLLOWUP EFFORTS ON SURVEY WITH FMG. AS TIME FACTOR EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, INSTRUCTIONS AND MODE OF OPERATION FOR TEAM SET FORTH REFTEL A SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE FOLLOWED.

3. HAVE DISCUSSED THESE PRIORITIES WITH WHITE HOUSE WHICH CONCURS.
ROGERS

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APPROVED BY AF - DAVID D. NEWSOM
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TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 009449

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM NEWSOM

REF: LAGOS 639

1. FIRST PRESS TICKER REPORTS FROM NEWSMEN WHO VISITED ENCLAVE, (REUTERS AND AP) ARE LURID AND DEPICT WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE AND CHAOS AND STARVATION. WE ANTICIPATE VERY STRONG PRESS REACTION HERE AND DEMANDS FOR EXPLANATION GREAT DISPARITY BETWEEN SITUATION AS WE HAVE BEEN DEPICTING ON BASIS OBSERVER REPORTS AND ACCOUNTS NOW BEING FILED BY REPORTERS.

2. WE NEED URGENTLY NEW EVIDENCE AND EXPLANATION THAT CAN BE SUPPLIED TO PUT SITUATION IN BETTER PERSPECTIVE. SPECIFICALLY HOW ARE WE TO EXPLAIN PRESS DEPICTION OF VERY BAD SITUATION WHICH WILL GET SIDE CURRENCY IN US?

3. WE ALSO DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT FMG REACTION TO PRESS ACCOUNTS MAY BE TO THROW TIGHT CENSORSHIP ON ENCLAVE

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AREA.

4. EMBASSY COMMENTS URGENTLY NEEDED. ROGERS

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DRAFTED BY: NWG/WHBRUBECK
APPROVED BY: AF MR NEWSOM
U/CF MR FOLEY

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TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 009866

REF: LAGOS 681

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM NEWSOM

1. FULLY ENDORSE YOUR EFFORT AT URGENT MEETING WITH GENERAL GOWON USG DEEPLY COMMITTED DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO DEAL WITH PROBLEMS. PRESS REPORTS AND GENERAL CLIMATE HERE SUCH THAT DETERIORATING SITUATION WILL PRESENT VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEM FOR USG.

2. WOULD APPRECIATE ALSO YOUR MAKING MOST SERIOUS EFFORT YOU CONSIDER FEASIBLE OBTAIN FMG COOPERATION IN RETURNING PRESS PEOPLE TO LAGOS AND IN MAKING POSSIBLE CONTINUED FUNCTIONING OF JOURNALISTS.

3. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON AND I TESTIFIED FOR TWO HOURS BEFORE SENATOR KENNEDY'S SUBCOMMITTEE TODAY AND SCHEDULED RETURN 0930 TOMORROW. PRESS REPORTS OF SERIOUS CONDITIONS ON ENCLAVE FIGURING PROMINENTLY IN HEARINGS.

CONFIDENTIAL

FOR LONDON: REQUEST YOU SHARE DEWEY'S INFO AT HIGH LEVEL LONDON (FOLEY, IF POSSIBLE) AND REQUEST THEIR VIEWS ON POSSIBLE MEASURES WE COULD TAKE TO HELP FMG DEAL WITH SECURITY PROBLEMS.
ROGERS

CONFIDENTIAL

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS PROJECT

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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SECRET 765

SUMMARY

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ORIGIN SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 R

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DRAFTED BY:AF:D.D.NEWSOM
APPROVED BY:S/S-O:R.G.RICH,JR.
U:THE UNDER SECRETARY (SUBS)
WHITE HOUSE:MR.MORRIS

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AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T STATE 011797

EXDIS

REF: A) STATE 010166; B) STATE 011726

1. FYI - DEPARTMENT DESIRES YOU USE UPCOMING APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON CONVEY U.S. VIEW THAT TRAGEDY OF MAJOR PROPORTIONS MAY BE SHAPING UP IN EASTERN AREA REQUIRING FAR MORE EFFECTIVE MEASURES THAN FMG HAS SO FAR PUT INTO EFFECT. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT, UNLESS FMG APPEARS TO BE TAKING ALL POSSIBLE STEPS, REPERCUSSIONS ON OPINION HERE COULD SERIOUSLY COMPLICATE OUR ABILITY PROVIDE ASSISTANCE. STRONG FEELING EXISTS THAT, UNLESS GENERAL GOWON AND HIS HEALTH AUTHORITIES ARE FULLY ACQUAINTED WITH DETAILS WESTERN REPORT AND ACT UPON IT, TRAGEDY WITH ITS FULL IMPLICATIONS WILL NOT BE AVERTED. YOU ARE REQUESTED, THEREFORE, TAKE DR. WILLIAM FOEGE OF USPH/CDC WITH YOU TO APPOINTMENT, PREPARED GIVE GENERAL GOWON BRIEFING. TO EXTENT IT POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO DO SO, WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL HAVE HIGH RANKING FMG HEALTH OFFICIALS AND AYIDA ALSO PRESENT. FOEGE SHOULD

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PAGE 02 STATE 011797

TAKE APPROPRIATE VISUAL AIDS FOR BRIEFING. END FYI.

2. REQUEST, IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, YOU ENDEAVOR BEGIN APPOINTMENT BY SEEING GOWON ALONE OR, AT LEAST, WITH ONLY HIS PERSONAL STAFF PRESENT, MAKING FOLLOWING POINTS LEADING TO FOEGE BRIEFING:(WHATEVER SEQUENCE, HOWEVER, WE STRONGLY DESIRE YOU MAKE THESE POINTS TO GOWON).

(A) U.S. NOW MOVING, AT PERSONAL REQUEST OF PRESIDENT, TO EXPEDITE SPECIFIC REQUESTS MADE BY FMG AND IS READY TO DO MORE. U.S. KEENLY AWARE OF GOWON'S HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES AT THIS TIME AND APPRECIATES THAT, AS REPORTS OF OBSERVERS AND DETAILS OF PROBLEM HAVE COME TO HIS ATTENTION, HE HAS TAKEN ACTION. U.S. PARTICULARLY PLEASED WORK WITH HIGHLY CAPABLE AYIDA.

(B) GOWON'S STATESMANSHIP IN OFFERING HAND OF HELP AND RECONCILIATION TO COUNTRYMAN HAS GAINED ADMIRATION OF WORLD AND ESPECIALLY OF U.S. WHICH RECALLS LINCOLN'S "MALICE TOWARD NONE."

(C) GOWON HAS MADE CLEAR AND RIGHTLY THAT RELIEF TO NIGERIANS IS NIGERIAN RESPONSIBILITY. U.S. DOES NOT QUESTION THAT. NO ONE UNDERSTANDS BETTER THAN U.S. PROUD DETERMINATION OF YOUNG NATION TO STAND ON ITS OWN FEET, AND IN CASE OF NIGERIA TO SHOW TO AFRICA AND WORLD THAT COLONIALISM IS DEAD. WE, TOO, FOUGHT BITTER CIVIL WAR IN WHICH WE ALSO RESENTED MEDDLING OF FOREIGNERS.

(D) YET U.S. GRAVELY CONCERNED THAT WHILE EFFORTS TO DATE ARE GAINING MOMENTUM THEY WILL NOT AVERT GRAVE TRAGEDY WHICH COULD REBOUND TO SERIOUS DETRIMENT RECONCILIATION EFFORTS AND TO ABILITY NIGERIA TO SHOW WORLD ITS CAPACITY TO REBUILD NATION. WHEN PRESIDENT FIRST WROTE GENERAL GOWO LAST FEBRUARY ABOUT RELIEF, HIS LETTER REFLECTED A COMPLETE CANDOR AND OPENNESS WHICH HE THOUGHT ESSENTIAL TO MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING COMMON PROBLEMS FACING OUR TWO COUNTRIES. NOW, AS WAR ENDS AND RECONCILIATION WE ALL HOPED FOR BEGINS U.S. BELIEVES MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER THAT NIGERIA'S FRIENDS ADDRESS HER WITH UTTER FRANKNESS ABOUT THE PROBLEMS WE STILL CONFRONT. ONLY THUS CAN WE CONTINUE EFFECTIVELY TO ASSIST FMG THROUGH RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION PERIODS.

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(E) IN PRESENTATION WHICH ASSISTANT SECRETARY NEWSOM MADE T GENERAL GOWON JANUARY 13, HE OFFERED PROVIDE DATA ACCUMULATED BY U.S. EXPERTS IN ENCLAVE DURING WAR. SOME OFDATA HAS BEEN GIVEN FMG HEALTH AUTHORITIES. U.S. BELIEVES, HOWEVER, THIS AUTHORITATIVE MEDICAL SURVEY CONDUCTED IN NOVEMBER BY AN OBJECTIVE GROUP OF DOCTORS FROM U.S PUBLKC HEALTH SERVICE IS ONLY ACTUAL SURVEY DONE SHOWING FULL EXTENT OF PROBLEM. WITH BREAKDOWN DISTRIBUTION AFTER END OF FIGHTING, SITUATION CANNOT BE RADICALLY CHANGED AND IS PROBABLY WORSE. REPORT BASED ON SAMPLING OF 2000 PEOPLE SUGGESTS THAT AS MANY AS 1 TO 1 AND 1/2 MILLION COULD PERISH IN COMING WEEKS WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL FLOW HIGH PROTEIN RELIEF. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE INDICATES UNRELIABILITY OF INITIAL EYEWITNESSES AS REGARDS TO DEPTH OF STARVATION. WE URGE GENERAL GOWON PERMIT DR. FOEGE GIVE HIM BRIEFING ON FINDINGS. WE BELIEVE IT POINTS INCONTROVERTIBLY TO NEED FOR SUBSTANTIAL UPWARD REVISION FOOD AND DISTRIBUTION REQUIREMENTS. U.S. MUST REPORT TO FMG THAT OUR OWN OBSERVERS WHO TRAVELLED PAST FEW DAYS IN AFFECTED AREA HAVE BORNE OUT EXTREME WANT AND CURRENT DIFFICULTIES IN MEETING IT.
(F) SPECIFICALLY, WE BELIEVE RESULTS WESTERN SURVEY POINT TO NEED FOR:

1) IMMEDIATE AIRLIFT OF HIGH-PROTEIN FOOD AND OTHER RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO AREA DIRECTLY AFFECTED USING ULI OR UGA. WE RECOGNIZE POLITICAL PROBLEM USING SUCH FIELDS, BUT SUGGEST FIELDS COULD BE RENAMED AND FMG COULD PERHAPS DRAMATIZE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FLOW PERMITTED BY SECESSIONIST REGIME AND MASSIVE DAYLIGHT LIFT OF FMG. U.S. PREPARED EXTEND APPROPRIATE HELP RECONSTRUCTING AIRSTRIPS AS NECESSARY. DESPITE FLOW OF NEW TRUCKS, WE DO NOT BELIEVE GROUND TRANSPORT ALONE WILL DO JOB.

2) IMMEDIATE ADDITIONAL REQUEST FOR HIGH PROTEIN FOOD. WE ESTIMATE NEED OF 40,000 TONS PER MONTH. WE ARE PREPARED PROVIDE.

3) ADDITIONAL EXPATRIATE PERSONNEL TO SUPPLEMENT PRESENT NRC STAFF AND OTHER TEAMS. WE WOULD HOPE, AFTER SCREENING, PERSONNEL FORMERLY IN ENCLAVE COULD BE RETURNED TO WORK ON MASSIVE PROBLEM.

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4) SUPPLEMENTING DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM BY HELICOPTERS. WE CAN MAKE AVAILABLE, ON SAME BASIS AS PRESENT ICRC C-97S, THREE TWO-TON CAPACITY BELL HELICOPTERS (WET CHARTER) WHICH CAN BE OF GREAT VALUE FOR LOCAL MOBILITY ANDISTRIBUTION IN AREA.

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ROGERS

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS PROJECT

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WHITE HOUSE
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PAGE 02 STATE 011797

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4) SUPPLEMENTING DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM BY HELICOPTERS. WE CAN MAKE AVAILABLE, ON SAME BASIS AS PRESENT ICRC C-97S, THREE TWO-TON CAPACITY BELL HELICOPTERS (WET CHARTER) WHICH CAN BE OF GREAT VALUE FOR LOCAL MOBILITY ANDISTRIBUTION IN AREA.

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Book

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PAGE 01 STATE 008816

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ORIGIN SS-45

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APPROVED BY: AF-DAVID D. NEWSOM
U/CF-MR. FERGUSON
S/S -MR. BROWN
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TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 008816

EXDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM NEWSOM

1. UPON RETURN, I FIND GENERAL ACCEPTANCE GOOD FAITH FMG IN TREATMENT AND RECONCILIATION BIAFRANS. SERIOUS DOUBTS CONTINUE EXIST, HOWEVER, AMONG THOSE FOLLOWING PROBLEM ABOUT FMG RECOGNITION GRAVITY FEEDING PROBLEM AND ABILITY DEAL WITH IT.

2. STATE 8750 SENT LAST NIGHT REFLECTS LATEST ESTIMATE DR. WESTERN AND CDC PEOPLE. EMPHASIZING THAT EXTENT EDEMA CAN ONLY BE DETERMINED BY EXPERT SURVEY AND FIRST IMPRESSIONS UNTRAINED OBSERVERS CAN BE MISLEADING, DR. WESTERN ESTIMATES EDEMA SUFFERERS ENCLAVE MAY BE IN EXCESS ONE MILLION. THIS BASED ON HIS ESTIMATES POPULATION AND EDEMA INCIDENCE OCTOBER. CONSEQUENTLY EXTRA HIGH CALORY DIET EXTENSIVELY SUPPLEMENTED BY OUTSIDE SOURCES NEEDED ON CRASH BASIS FOR NEXT TWO MONTHS TO AVOID HEAVY DEATH TOLL. CDC PEOPLE NOT CONVINCED NIGERIA HAS SUFFICIENT FOOD RESOURCES ITS OWN MEET NEED.

3. COUPLED WITH THIS ESTIMATE IS FEELING FMG FOOD DISTRIBUTION PLANS INADEQUATE TO MEET CRISIS. SERIOUS DOUBTS EXIST THAT TRUCK TRANSPORT ALONE CAN MOVE REQUIRED QUANTITIES FOOD TO

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PAGE 02 STATE 008816

PLACES WHERE IT IS NEEDED. MANY HERE WHO ARE CONCERNED ABOUT PROBLEM FEEL AIR LIFT TO FIELDS IN FORMER ENCLAVE ONLY SOLUTION.

4. AT SAME TIME, THERE IS GENERAL, BUT NOT TOTAL, RECOGNITION WE MUST WORK WITH FMG. CONSEQUENTLY IT BECOMES IMPERATIVE UPON US, IN ORDER TO INSURE WE HAVE DONE ALL POSSIBLE AVERT THREAT AS SEEN BY CDC PEOPLE, TO LAY FACTS BEFORE FMG AUTHORITIES AND EMPHASIZE OUR CONTINUED WILLINGNESS ASSIST THEM TO MEET NEED AS THEY DETERMINE IT.

5. BELIEVE, THEREFORE, WOULD BE MOST USEFUL IF YOU COULD PERSONALLY CONTACT DR. MILLER OF CDC AND DR. CONRAD WHEN HE ARRIVES, HAVE PERSONAL BRIEFING, AND ARRANGE FOR THEM PRESENT THEIR FINDINGS TO AYIDA AND MOHAMMAD. WE WISH DO THIS, NOT IN SPIRIT PRESSURE ON FMG, BUT FROM DESIRE SHARE WITH THEM TO FULLEST EXTENT EXPERT OPINION BEARING ON PROBLEM.
ROGERS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ORIGIN SS-45

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DRAFTED BY:NWG:WHBRUBECK
APPROVED BY:U:THE UNDER SECRETARY
U/CF:MR.FOLEY
S/PC:MR.RUSER
AF:AMBASSADOR MOORE
WHITE HOUSE:MR.MORRIS
S/S-O:LCKILDAY

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T STATE 006463

EXDIS

REF: LAGOS 335, LAGOS 403

SUBJECT: NIGERIA RELIEF

LAGOS FOR AMBASSADOR

1. BEARING IN MIND GOWON-NEWSOM CONVERSATION AND FOLEY CONVERSATION REPORTED REFTELS WE BELIEVE IT HIGHLY DESIRABLE, OF COURSE, THERE BE SOME PROMPT AND VISIBLE NIGERIAN RESPONSE TO EXTERNAL AID OFFERS. WITH CHARGES OF STARVATION AND GENOCIDE STILL BEING GIVEN WIDE CURRENCY, THERE IS WIDESPREAD PRESS SKEPTICISM ABOUT EFFICACY RELIEF EFFORTS. PRESS AND PUBLIC DO NOT RPT NOT APPRECIATE EXTENT OF RELATIVELY UNDRAMATIC EFFORTS ALREADY UNDER WAY BY NIGERIANS AND OUTSIDE DONORS AND TEND TO VIEW LACK OF NIGERIAN RESPONSE TO AIRLIFT AND OTHER OFFERS AS INDICATING EITHER NIGERIAN DISINTEREST OR IGNORANCE REGARDING DEMANDS

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ADEQUATE RELIEF. WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, TO NIGERIAN POSITION IN EYES OF WORLD THAT IT SHOW EVIDENCE ITS RESPONSIVENESS AND CONCERN.

2. WE APPRECIATE NIGERIAN ATTITUDE AS EXPRESSED BY GOWON THAT FMG DETERMINED DEMONSTRATE IBOS BEING CARED FOR BY NIGERIANS, NOT RPT NOT OUTSIDERS. WE APPRECIATE ALOS THEIR SENSITIVITY TO ANY IMPLICATION OUTSIDERS TAKING OVER NIGERIAN RESPONSIBILITY. WE THEREFORE WISH ANY ACTION WE UNDERTAKE TO BE CLEARLY IN SUPPORT OF NIGERIANS AND TACTFUL IN CHARACTER.

3. NONETHELESS, IN THIS CONTEXT, WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT NIGERIANS RESPOND TO PRESIDENT'S OFFER AND WE MOST ENCOURAGED INDICATIONS OF SUCH REQUEST LAGOS 403. PRESIDENT PREPARED GIVE HIGHEST PRIORITY THIS PROJECT. FOR EXAMPLE, US PREPARED AIRLIFT IMMEDIATELY UP TO FOUR PREPACKAGED PUBLIC HEALTH DISASTER HOSPITALS OF TYPE ALREADY SUPPLIED PORT HARCOURT. WITH RESPECT NIGERIAN PRIORITY GIVEN TRANSPORT, WE PREPARED TO DO SAME BY WHATEVER ARRANGEMENT SUITABLE (CHARTER ETC.) FOR AIRCRAFT OR VEHICLES (COULD BE DODGE TRUCKS FOR UNICEF, ASSUMING CURRENT PROBLEMS RE ARRANGEMENTS FOR FINAL ASSEMBLY AT DELIVERY POINT CAN BE SOLVED). IF IN MISSION AND OR FMG VIEW THERE IS NEED FOR MEDICAL SUPPLIES, RELIEF PERSONNEL, OR OTHER MATERIEL, WE OF COURSE PREPARED FOLLOW YOUR RECOMMENDATION.

4. IN VIEW NIGERIAN SENSITIVITIES RE MILITARY AIRCRAFT, WE PREPARED SHIP VIA COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT AND WORK OUT INDICRECT CHARTER ARRANGEMENTS AS ALTERNATIVE TO DIRECT US ROLE AS NIGERIANS DESIRE.

5. AT YOUR DISCRETION, GIVEN POSSIBILITY PROMPT FMG RESPONSE AS PER LAGOS 403, REQUEST YOU DISCUSS URGENTLY AT HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND REPLY SOONEST.
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APPROVED BY: THE UNDER SECRETARY
AF:AMB. MOORE
AF:MR. NEWSOM
S/S:MR. ELIOT

---------- 049256

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM
'69 DEC 17 AM 8:19

O R 162115Z DEC 69 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T STATE 208132

EXDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM UNDER SECRETARY

REF: LAGOS 10725; LAGOS 10686; ADDIS 5445 NOTAL

1. REQUEST YOU SEEK APPOINTMENT ARIKPO AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME AND CONVEY FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM UNDER SECRETARY RICHARDSON.

2. USG HAS BEEN MUCH ENCOURAGED BY PROSPECT ADDIS TALKS UNDER HIM AEGIS AND BY FMG STATESMANLIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE IN AGREEING TO TALKS. UNDER SECRETARY HAS NOW READ WITH CONCERN CONFUSING CURRENT PRESS REPORTS RE PRESENT STATE ADDIS TALKS. REPORTS INDICATE BIAFRAN DELEGATION EN ROUTE BUT FEDERAL PARTICIPATION IN DOUBT. WE APPRECIATE THESE PRELIMINARY UNCONDITIONAL TALKS DO NOT MEET FMG DECLARED REQUIREMENTS FOR SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, WE HOPE THEY MIGHT LEAD TO MORE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS AND FELT FMG TAKING WISE COURSE

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SECRET

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IN DEMONSTRATING FLEXIBILITY AND WILLINGNESS EXPLORE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE TOWARD SERIOUS TALKS.

3. UNDER SECRETARY CONCERNED NOW THAT FMG WILL BE PUT PUBLICLY IN POSITION OF APPEARING RESPONSIBLE FOR FAILURE HIM'S EFFORT. UNDER SECRETARY IS SURE ARIKPO WILL APPRECIATE THAT FRIENDS OF NIGERIA WILL HAVE DIFFICULT TIME INTERNATIONALLY AND IN US EXPLAINING AND DEFENDING SUCH OUTCOME. HE IS CONCERNED THAT MUCH OF SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING FMG ACHIEVED BY CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT MAY BE DISSIPATED BY SUCH AN OUTCOME. IN LIGHT USG PUBLIC STATEMENTS RE DAYLIGHT AGREEMENT CREDITING THE FMG FOR CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE AND POINTING TO BIAFRAN FAILURE AGREE, APPEARANCE OF FMG RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE ADDIS TALKS WOULD CREATE DIFFICULT SITUATION.

4. UNDER SECRETARY ALSO WISHES RECALL THAT FOLLOWING CONVERSATIONS ARIKPO HERE, HE HAS TALKED WITH FRENCH URGING THEM USE INFLUENCE BIAFRANS TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS. HE WANTS ARIKPO TO KNOW IN GREAT CONFIDENCE THAT HE BELIEVES FRENCH HAVE, IN FACT, BEEN HELPFUL IN GETTING BIAFRAN ACCEPTANCE ADDIS TALKS. OUR OWN ABILITY DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH FRENCH WILL BE GREATLY WEAKENED IF TALKS DO NOT MATERIALIZE. HE WAS MOST ENCOURAGED BY TALK IN THE BELIEF HE SHOULD CONVEY TO ARIKPO OUR CONCERN.

5. FYI WE UNDERSTAND HMG INSTRUCTING GLASS CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS WITH FMG AND ASSUME YOU COORDINATING WITH GLASS. ASSISTANT SEC NEWSOM CALLING IN FMG CHARGE UDOH TODAY, WILL CONVEY SUBSTANCE OF ABOVE AND INFORM UDOH UNDER SECRETARY'S MESSAGE GOING TO ARIKPO. END FYI.
ROGERS

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SECRET 048

PAGE 01 STATE 197574

87-L-80
ORIGIN AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 SS-20 PM-05 SR-01 NSC-10 INR-07 CIAE-00

DODE-00 UCF-05 RSC-01 /088 R

66644
DRAFTED BY:AF/SN:BRUBECK
APPROVED BY:U:UNDERSECRETARY
U/CF:FOLEY
S/S:BROWN
AF:NEWSOM
S/PC:RUSER
WHITEHOUSE:MORRIS

---------- 066469

P R 251845Z NOV 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T STATE 197574

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: 197573

1. WE RECOGNIZE IEG SENSITIVITY RE CURRENT NEGOTIATION INITIATIVE AND DO NOT WANT TO SHOW SO AGGRESSIVE AN INTEREST AS TO CAUSE ADVERSE REACTION. PER BACKGROUND REFTEL, HOWEVER, WE WISH SO FAR AS POSSIBLE ENCOURAGE HIM CONTINUE KEEP US CLOSELY INFORMED AND TO IMPRESS ON HIM OUR WILLINGNESS LEND DISCREET SUPPORT IN WHATEVER WAYS HE THINKS HELPFUL TO CURRENT INITIATIVE. WE AIM TO CULTIVATE CLOSEST CONSULTATION HIM AND KETEMA ON NEGOTIATIONS, WITH VIEW TO CREATING PROPITIOUS CLIMATE FOR FURTHER USG APPROACH, AT RIGHT TIME, ON SUBJECTS REFTEL. ACCORDINGLY, REQUEST YOU SEEK EARLY OPPORTUNITY PASS PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE BELOW TO HIM AND TALK HIM AND KETEMA ALONG FOLLOWING LINES.

2. PRESIDENT HAS ASKED YOU CONVEY HIM ADMIRATION HIS CONTNUING

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EFFORTS ACHIEVE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND EXPRESS TO HIM PRESIDENT'S HOPE CURRENT INITIATIVE WILL BE SUCCESSFUL. RECALLING THEIR JUNE CONVERSATION AND HIM DESIRE US COOPERATION IN SEARCH FOR SETTLEMENT, PRESIDENT WISHES REITERATE USG READINESS PROVIDE SUCH SUPPORT AND HELP AS HIM MAY FIND USEFUL. PRESIDENT AWARE AFRICAN FEELING WAR IS SUSTAINED BY OUTSIDE SUPPORT, AND AFRICANS HAVE URGED THAT US USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH OTHER OUTSIDERS TO ENCOURAGE SETTLEMENT. USG HAS BEEN EXPLORING WITH UK AND FRANCE (UNDSEC WITH STEWART AND SCHUMANN) HOW THE THREE GOVERNMENTS MIGHT ENCOURAGE THE PARTIES TO COOPERATE IN AFRICAN NEGOTIATION INITIATIVES. WE BELIEVE THERE MAY BE SOME BASIS FOR GETTING OUTSIDE DIPLOMATIC INFLUENCE ON TWO PARTIES IN CURRENT INITIATIVE IF AND WHEN HIM THINKS USEFUL. PRESIDENT APPRECIATES HIM THOUGHTFULNESS IN KEEPING AMBASSADOR HALL INFORMED AND WILL FOLLOW NEGOTIATING DEVELOPMENTS WITH GREAT INTEREST.

3. IF YOU FEEL CLIMATE PROPITIOUS IN FURTHER CONVERSATIONS WITH KETEMA, WOULD BE HELPFUL HAVE FROM HIM MORE SPECIFIC VIEW AS TO HOW THEY SEE NEGOTIATION PROCEEDING. IF POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS WITHOUT IMPLYING US MAKING PROPOSALS, WE INTERESTED IN SUCH QUESTIONS AS AGENDA AND OBJECTIVES OF INITIAL NEGOTIATION; WHAT SCENARIO IS ENVISAGED BEYOND INITIAL MEETINGS; WHETHER ROLE IS CONTEMPLATED FOR INTERLOCUTOR OR MEDIATOR.

SPECIFICALLY, WE WONDER HOW IEG ASSESSES EXPERIENCE PREVIOUS FAILURES NEGOTIATING EFFORTS, AND HOW CURRENT INITIATIVE DESIGNED APPLY LESSONS FAILURE TO IMPROVE WHATEVER PROSPECTS EXIST FOR THIRD PARTIES BRING ADVERSARIES TO PEACE. WE RECOGNIZE KETEMA MAY BE RETICENT ON SUCH MATTERS AND ABOVE POINTS YOUR GUIDANCE NECESSARILY LOW-KEY. BASIC PURPOSE, TO REPEAT, IS SIMPLY REESTABLISH CLOSEST CONSULTATION WITH IEG WITH VIEW TO MORE SPECIFIC US INPUT TO NEGOTIATING SCENARIO ON LATER OCCASION AS HIM REACTION THIS APPRAOCH AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS MAKE PRUDENT.
ROGERS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 684

PAGE 01 STATE 196752

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ORIGIN SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 R

66635
DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:GSHERRY
APPROVED BY: AF:MR. NEWSOM
S/PC:MR. RUSER
S/S:MR. BRANDT
---------- 052660

P R 222031Z NOV 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T STATE 196752

EXDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR

REF: (A) LAGOS 10134; (B) STATE 195055

1. DISCUSSION WITH IYALLA HERE WAS QUITE GENERAL AND FOCUSED PRINCIPALLY ON EVIDENT FRENCH WILLINGNESS CONTINUE DIALOGUE ON NEGOTIATIONS AND PROBABLE RECEPTIVITY TO FMG SUGGESTIONS. DETAILS MENTIONED REF (A) NOT DISCUSSED AND SHOULD NOT BE RAISED WITH ARIKPO, EXCEPT FOR IDEA INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER FORCE TO HELP MEET SECURITY AND RESETTLEMENT PROBLEM WHICH FMG ACCEPTS.

2. EVEN THOUGH ARIKPO TRIP TO PARIS NOW LESS CERTAIN, BELIEVE IT WILL BE USEFUL FOR YOU TO HAVE DISCUSSION WITH HIM, ALONG LINES REF (B), AS FOLLOW UP TO OUR TALKS WITH IYALLA AND EARNEST OUR CONTINUING INTEREST.
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SECRET 962

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
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PAGE 01 STATE 195055

82
ORIGIN SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 R

66642
DRAFTED BY:AF/SN GBSHERRY WHBRUBECK
APPROVED BY:AF:DAVID D NEWSOM
S/S: MLEVITSKY
EUR: MR SPRINGSTEEN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T STATE 195055

EXDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR

REF: A) ROME 7251 B) LONDON 9217 C) PARIS 17552 D) PARIS 17633

SUBJ: TALKS WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH

1. IT EVIDENT FROM REPORTS OF UNDER SECRETARY'S AND BRUBECK'S MEETINGS IN LONDON AND PARIS THAT BOTH BRITISH AND FRENCH VERY CAUTIOUS ABOUT EXERTING INFLUENCE ON THE TWO SIDES. HOWEVER, BOTH CLEARLY INTERESTED IN CONTINUING TALKS WITH US ON SUBJECT OF HOW BEST BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATED END TO CONFLICT. BOTH AGREED IT IN ALL OUR INTERESTS AVOID MILITARY OVERRUN OF ENCLAVE WITH ALL THAT COULD ENTAIL. NEVERTHELESS, IT CLEAR FRENCH AND BRITISH EACH REMAIN COMMITTED TO INTERESTS OF SIDE IT SUPPORTS.

2. WE BELIEVE GREATEST VALUE FROM TALKS WAS WILLINGNESS BOTH BRITISH AND FRENCH TO CONTINUE PEACE-SEEKING DIALOOGUE WITH US. WE EXPECT HAVE PERIODIC DISCUSSIONS WITH VIEW TO BRINGING INFLUENCE BRITISH AND FRENCH TO BEAR ON TWO SIDES WHEN IT CAN DO MOST GOOD.

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3. DEPT INFORMED BY AMB. IYALLA THAT ARIKPO PLANNING TRIP TO PARIS NEAR FUTURE. BELIEVE IT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL IF YOU COULD SEEK OPPORTUNITY GIVE ARIKPO JUDICIOUSLY LIMITED REPORT ON FRENCH ATTITUDE WITH INDICATION WE BELIEVE FRENCH WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS FROM FMG ON HOW NEGOTIATED END TO STRUGGLE MIGHT BEST BE ACHIEVED. IYALLA WAS GIVEN SUCH A BRIEFING HERE BUT BELIEVE ARIKPO SHOULD BEAR THIS DIRECTLY.

4. BELIEVE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IN DISCUSSING OUR TALK WITH FRENCH TO REFER BACK TO ARIKPO'S URGING HERE THAT WE WORK ON FRENCH. YOU SHOULD INDICATE TO HIM OUR TALK VERY EXPLORATORY BUT WE BELIEVE USEFUL AS FIRST STEP IN MOVING FRENCH TO MORE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE. YOU SHOULD ALSO STRESS TO ARIKPO FRENCH PREOCCUPATION WITH IBO SECURITY AND OUR SENSE THAT FRENCH FLEXIBILITY RE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WILL PROBABLY DEPEND ON WHETHER ARRANGEMENTS FOR SECURITY AND RESETTLEMENT OF IBOS PROVIDES RESPECTABLE BASIS FOR IBOS (AND INCIDENTALLY FOR FRENCH) TO END WAR. BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, THAT ARIKPO CONVINCE FRENCH OF NIGERIAN UNDERSTANDING OF SECURITY AND RESETTLEMENT PROBLEM AND STRESS NIGERIAN WILLINGNESS BE CONCILIATORY THIS ISSUE, E.G., AMNESTY AND OBSERVER FORCE OFFERS, IBO POLICE OFFER, ETC.
ROGERS

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

'69 OCT 29 PM 4:36

SECRET 335

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42
ORIGIN SS 45

INFO OCT 01,SSO 00,NSCE 00,/046 R

66604
DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBRUBECK
APPROVED BY: AF-MR. NEWSOM
S/S-MR. GLEYSTEEN
U/CF-MR. FOLEY (SUBSTANCE)
---------- 032179

O 291811Z OCT 69 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 192954

EXDIS

REF: LAGOS 9437

1. NEXT STEPS UNDER CONSIDERATION HERE AND WILL ADVISE YOU SOONEST WHAT YOU CAN TELL FMG, HOPEFULLY IN TIME FOR YOUR MEETING OCTOBER 30. IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE MORE DEFINITE INFORMATION BEFORE ARIKPO MEETING YOU CAN TELL HIM WE CONSIDERING FURTHER STEPS IN LIGHT ICRC CURRENT SITUATION. WE FEEL OBLIGED MAKE SURE OUR FURTHER ACTIONS DO NOT PREJUDICE ICRC POSITION.

2. FYI BIAFRANS HAVE REJECTED US OFFER AND WE WORKING ON FURTHER STEPS ENVISAGED IN ORIGINAL PLAN AS OUTLINED IN AIDE MEMOIRE. END FYI.
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 007

PAGE 01 STATE 181298

81
ORIGIN SS 45

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66633
DRAFTED BY:AF/SN:HKWALKER
APPROVED BY:AF:AMB NEWSOM
AF/SN:MR. BRUBECK WHITE HOUSE - MR. MORRIS PHONE
S/S - MR. LLOYD
---------- 006404

O R 250043Z OCT 69 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T STATE 181298

EXDIS

SUBJ: US INITATIVE ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: (A) LAGOS 9350 (B) LAGOS 9354

REGARDING CHANGE FROM QTE FOR ARMS FLIGHTS END QTE TO QTE FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS, END QTE DEPARTMENT UNDERSTANDS FMG CONCERN. HOWEVER, PROPOSAL ALREADY PUT TO BIAFRANS AS IS. IF LATER OCCASION ARISES, WE WILL CONSIDER CAREFULLY FEASIBILITY OF PROPOSING LANGUAGE SUGGESTED BY FMG. FURTHER REPORT FOLLOWS WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS.
ROGERS

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SECRET 272

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12
ORIGIN SS 45

INFO OCT 01 /046 R

66663
DRAFTED BY:AF/SN:WHBRUBECK
APPROVED BY:THE UNDER SECRETARY/S/S-O:BAFLATIN
AF -MR. NEWSOM
U/CF - AMB. FERGUSON
WHITE HOUSE - MR. ROGER MORRIS
S/PC - MR. RUSER

130926

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
'69 OCT 24 PM 12:27

P P 240443Z OCT 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

S E C R E T STATE 180295

EXDIS

REF: (A) STATE 176138; (B) STATE 176139

LAGOS FOR AMBASSADOR

ABIDJAN FOR FERGUSON

1. YOU SHOULD CONVEY MESSAGE PARAS 2-4 TO ENAHORO, EXTAFF, FOR GOWON. YOU SHOULD NOTE IN SO DOING THAT WE INFORMED ARIKPO OF THESE STEPS (REFTELS) WHEN IN WASHINGTON AND THAT WE GRATIFIED BY AKIKPO'S STRONG ASSURANCES FMG COOPERATION. (FYI - WE NOT REVEALING ANY DETAILS RE HOW WE COMMUNICATING WITH BIAFRANS. (END FYI.) YOU MAY WISH USE AIDE MEMOIRE WITH ENAHORO. MESSAGE IS AS FOLLOWS:

2. PRESIDENT WISHES CONVEY GENERAL GOWON HIS ADMIRATION FOR HIS HUMANE STATESMANSHIP IN AGREEING TO INVIOLABLE DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT BY ICRC INTO ENCLAVE. USG DEEPLY COMMITTED TO HUMANITARIAN PROGRAM AND THEREFORE VERY DISTRESSED CONTINUED IMPASSE. WE WISH SEE PROMPT IMPLEMENTATION ICRC FLIGHTS AND SEE QUESTION OF

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SECURITY CHIEF BIAFRAN OBJECTION REMAINING. IN EFFORT MEET THIS PROBLEM PRESIDENT HAS BY APPROPRIATE MEANS ARRANGED BIAFRANS BE INFORMED THAT USG HAS FULL CONFIDENCE IN FMG COMMITMENT TO COOPERATE ICRC PROGRAM WITHOUT ANY VIOLATION FOR MILITARY ADVANTAGE DURING DAYLIGHT RELIEF HOURS. US ASSOCIATES SELF WITH FMG ASSURANCES AND THEREFORE FEELS BIAFRANS HAVE NO REASONABLE BASIS INSIST ON FURTHER GUARANTEES. US ALSO ASKING BIAFRAN ASSURANCE ULI WILL NOT BE USED FOR ARMS FLIGHTS DURING DAYLIGHT RELIEF OPERATIONS. IF BIAFRANS ACCEPT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS UNDER THESE ARRANGEMENTS, USG PREPARED MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT AT HIGH LEVEL EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE IN FMG PLEDGE INVIOLABILITY AIRLIFT, GRATIFICATION FMG STATESMANSHIP THUS DEMONSTRATED, AND THEREFORE AGREEMENT OF TWO PARTIES TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

3. BIAFRANS TO BE ASKED FOR YES OR NO ANSWER. US ASSURANCE NON-NEGOTIABLE. IF BIAFRANS STILL REJECT, USG WILL FEEL FREE TO EXPRESS PUBLICLY USG VIEW OF BIAFRAN POSITION.

4. PRESIDENT WISHES GENERAL GOWON UNDERSTAND WE FULLY APPRECIATIVE SOLEMN UNDERTAKING BY FMG IN ACCEPTING DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT. OUR PRESENT EFFORT INTENDED SOLELY TO REMOVE MAIN ISSUE ON WHICH BIAFRANS HAVE BASED REJECTION, THUS HOPEFULLY OPENING WAY TO ACTUAL FLIGHTS. PRESIDENT INSTRUCTED YOU SIMPLY CONVEY GENERAL GOWON AND FMG FULL EXPLANATION OF BACKGROUND AND PURPOSES OUR ACTION, AS WELL AS PRESIDENT'S RECOGNITION OF FMG'S REMARKABLE HUMANITARIANISM IN ALLOWING SAFE PASSAGE AIRLIFT TO OTHER SIDE IN CIVIL WAR. GP-1.
ROGERS

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SECRET 358

PAGE 01 STATE 176139

83
ORIGIN SS 45

INFO OCT 01,/046 R

66641
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APPROVED BY: AF: SN- MR BRUBECK
S/S MR TAYLOR
---------- 087484

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T STATE 176139

EXDIS

REF: STATE 176138, 176137

NOFORN

1. IN BRUBECK MEETING WITH ARIKPO, IYALLA AND BABA GANA MORNING OCTOBER 15, FIRST SUBJECT RAISED BY NIGERIANS WAS U S APPROACH TO BIAFRANS OUTLINED TO THEM BY UNDER SECRETARY PREVIOUS DAY (REFTEL) IYALLA EXPRESSED CONCERN US APPROACH MIGHT PROVIDE BIAFRANS WITH BASIS FOR CLAIMING THIRD- PARTY GUARANTEE THEY HAD DEMANDED. HE AND ARIKPO SHOWED UNEASINESS THAT US MIGHT BE GETTING INTO GUARANTOR ROLE BETWEEN TWO PARTIES. BRUBECK SAID WE EQUALLY AWARE WITH THEM OF THIS DANGER, REITERATED NEITHER WE NOR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT PREPARED PROVIDE GUARANTEES BIAFRANS DEMANDING, AND REPEATED UNDER SECRETARY'S EXPLANATION THAT PURPOSE IS TO PUT PRESSURE ON BIAFRANS AGREE TO ICRC FLIGHTS AND DEPRIVE THEM OF ANY VALID BASIS FOR REJECTING. BRUBECK EMPHASIZED AGAIN IMPORTANCE US ATTACHES TO SUCCESSFUL RELIEF PROGRAM.

2. BRUBECK GAVE THEM BRIEF REPORT HIS EUROPEAN DISCUSSIONS AND OF REALISTIC ATTITUDE HE HAD FOUND AMONG EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS. ARIKPO INDICATED PARTICULAR APPRECIATION NORWEGIAN (JACOBSEN)

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ACTIVITIES AND SAID JACOBSEN WOULD GET CORDIAL RECEPTION IF HE VISITS LAGOS. ARIKPO ALSO INDICATED GREAT INTEREST IN IMPROVING DIALOGUE WITH FRENCH. HE KNOWS ACHILLE- FOULD AND APPRECIATES HIS VIEWS. IYALLA ANXIOUS CONTACT ACHILLE- FOULD IF HE COMES WASHINGTON
AND ARIKPO INTENDS DEVELOP CONTACT WITH HIM. IYALLA ASKED OUR VIEW HIS TALKING TO LUCET HERE AND BRUBECK OFFERED NO OPINION. (WOULD APPRECIATE PARIS COMMENTS).

3. ARIKPO ALSO INDICATED DESIRE HAVE IYALLA EXPLORE FURTHER WITH US SUBJECT OF RELIEF FUNDS RAISED IN US AND DIVERTED TO BIAFRAN MILITARY USE. HE SAID FMG BELIEVES US GROUPS ARE PRIMARY SOURCE BIAFRAN FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUT SAID DID NOT INCLUDE JCA IN THIS CHARGE.
4. IN BRIEF DISCUSSION CURRENT NEGOTIATION INITIATIVE, ARIKPO WAS CRITICAL DIALLO TELLI PERFORMANCE, COMPLAINING DIALLO TELLI TOO CARELESS, DOES NOT SUFFICIENTLY APPRECIATE DETAILED PROBLEMS INVOLVED. IYALLA ASKED BRUBECK WHETHER HE HAD OBSERVED ANY " DIFFERENCE IN NUANCE" IN ADDIS ATTITUDES (AND SPECIFICALLY EMPEROR'S) FROM ATTITUDES ON NEGOTIATIONS HE HAD FOUND LAGOS. BRUBECK SAID HE FOUND NO SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE.
ROGERS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 402

PAGE 01 STATE 176138

83
ORIGIN SS 45

INFO OCT 01 /046 R

66638
DRAFTED BY:AF/SN:WHBRUBECK
APPROVED BY:U:THE UNDER SECRETARY
AF:MR NEWSOM
S/PC:CWRUSER
S/S:MR TAYLOR
---------- 087580

P 170029Z OCT 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T STATE 176138

EXDIS

NOFORN

1. UNDER SECRETARY (WITH NEWSOM AND BRUBECK) MET WITH NIGERIAN MINEXTAFF ARIKPO (ACCOMPANIED BY AMB. IYALLA AND PERMSEC BABA GANA) OCTOBER 14. UNDER SECRETARY OUTLINED US PLAN COMMUNICATE WITH BIAFRANS IN CONNECTION PRESENT ICRC-BIAFRAN NEGOTIATION ON AIRLIFT AGREEMENT. HE TOLD ARIKPO WE WILL ASSURE BIAFRANS OUR CONFIDENCE IN FMG GOOD FAITH IN ICRC AGREEMENT AND ASSOCIATE OURSELVES THEREWITH. WILL ALSO REQUEST BIAFRAN UNDERTAKING NOT USE ULI FOR ARMS FLIGHTS DURING DAYLIGHT RELIEF HOURS. IF BIAFRANS ACCEPT AGREEMENT WE WILL MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT AS ABOVE. IF THEY REJECCT, WE WILL FEEL FREE PUBLICY ASSESS RESPONSIBILITY. WE WILL INFORM LAGOS AFTER CONTACTING BIAFRANS.

2. ARKIPO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR INFORMATION, THOUGHT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN GETTING AGREEMENT AND UF UNSUCCESSFUL, FMG WOULD APPRECIATE US STATEMENT MAKING CLEAR WHO RES-PONSIBLE FOR FAILURE. HE ASSURED UNDSEC NIGERIA

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PREPARED TO CARRY OUR AGREEMENT IN GOOD FAITH WITH NO MILITARY VILATION. COMPANIED THAT US" EVEN-HANDED" STATEMENTS IN PAST HAD SOMETIMES BEEN READ AS ANTI-FMG, HOPED ANY SUCH STATEMENT ON ICRC PLAN WOULD AVOID SUCH IMPLICATION. UNDSEC POINTED OUT THAT IF BIAFRANS REJECT PLAN, FMG WILL APPEAR IN FAVORABLE LIGHT AN ARIKPO RE-PEATED OPINION US INITIATIVE HELPFUL IF IN END RESPONSIBILITY CLEARLY ASSESSED.

3. IN RESPONSE TO UNDSEC INQUIRY HOW US COULD BE HELPFUL TOWARD PEACE NEOGITIONS WITHOUT ASSUMING DIRECT RESPON-SIBILITY, ARIKPO SAID US ROLE TO DATE VERY HELPFUL. PRESIDENT'S AVOIDANCE REFERENCE TO AFRICA IN UN SPEECH CONSTRUED AS HELPFUL BY NIGERIANS AND OAU, INTERPRETED AS US DECISION AND WARNING TO OTHERS NIGERIAN ISSUE SHOULD NOT BE RAISED IN UN. ALSO APPROVED US AVOIDANCE DIRECT ROLE IN MEDIATION, ASSERTING OAU COMPETENT TO HANDLE AND ONLY "OUTSIDE FORCES" SUSTAINED CRISIS BY SUPPORTING BIAFRA. HE ASSERTED EVEN BIAFRA'S AFRICAN FRIENDS (HOUPHOUET, NYERERE, KAUNDA) NOW ACCPEPT DESIRABILITY "ONE NIGERIA" SOLUTION. USHER HAD ACKNOWLEDGED THIS TO ARKIPO AT UN AND NYERERE HAD TOLD TRUDEAU SAME IN OTTAWA.

4. ARIKPO THEN MADE STRONG PITCH FOR US PRESSURE ON FRANCE. WOULD LIKE US CONVINCE FRANCE TO ACCEPT "ONE NIGERIA" SOLUTION AND SUPPORT NEGOTIATIONS THAT CONTEXT. URGED THAT US PERSUADE FRANCE TO PRESSURE OJUKWU TO NEGOTIATE UNDER OAU RESOLUTION, MAKE CLEAR US WILL NOT GET DIRECTLY INVOLVED (WHICH IS OJUKWU'S AIM) AND CONVINCE FRENCH EVEN BIAFRANS' AFRICAN FRIENDS NOW ACCEPT "ONE NIGERIA." HE GAVE LONG REBUTTAL OF FRENCH INSISTENCE ON BIAFRAN SELF-DETERMINATION, PLEBISCITE, ETC., ALONG FAMILIAR LINES. IN RESPONSE NEWSOM QUESTION ABOUT POSSIBLE FRENCH FLEXIBILITY AND FURTHER FMG DIRECT TALKS WITH FRENCH, ARIKPO SAID FRENCH EMBASSY LAGOS HAD DISCOURAGED FMG PROPOSAL FOR WEY-AWOLOWO-ARIKPO MISSION LAST SPRING. AS RESULT, ARIKPO WENT TO PARIS ALONE, SAW DEBRE, HAD FRANK BUT NOT CORDIAL DISCUSSION IN WHICH FRENCH EMPHASIZED SELF-DETERMINATION AND FEAR OF SOVIET INFLUENCE. UNDSEC POINTED OUT CHANGES IN FRANCE SINCE MAY, SUGGESTED DESIRABILITY RENEWED FMG-PARIS CONVERSATIONS. UNDSEC INDICATED WE WILLING

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Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 STATE 176138

TALK FURTHER WITH FRENCH BUT COULD NOT PLAY BROKER'S ROLE BETWEEN FMG AND FRENCH. ARIKPO REPLIED IF FRENCH RAISED QUESTIONS RE FMG POSITION, FMG PREPARED TALK WITH FRENCH AT ANY TIME. IN RESPONSE UNDSEC QUERY RE NEGOTIATIONS PROSPECTS, ARIKPO REPEATED AFRICAN MEDIATION POSSIBLE IF FRENCH CHANGED POLICY. REITERATED THAT OJUKWU NEED NOT MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT BUT MUST PRIVATELY ASSURE EMPEROR PREPARED TALK WITHIN OAU RESOLUTION, AND CEASEFIRE POSSIBLE ONLY AFTER TALKS BEGAN AND SOME PROGRESS DEMONSTRATED. FRENCH SHOULD TELL OJUKWU HE MUST NEGOTIATE, THAT ALL THE AFRICANS WANT NEGOTIATION AND ARE PREPARED TO HELP HIM IN GRACEFUL RETREAT; FMG PREPARED MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS TO HELP OJUKWU COMPROMISE. ARIKPO SAYS ALL FRENCH AFRICANS EXCEPT HOUPHOUET HAVE ASSURED FRENCH "ONE NIGERIA" ONLY PRACTICAL SOLUTION. IYALLA ADDED PRESENT FMG POSITION IS MAXIMUM OF CONCESSIONS; AS WAR GOES ON, NIGERIAN PUBLIC WILL COMPEL HARDER LINE. PUBLIC AND EVEN CABINET PRESSURE FOR HARDER LINE IS GROWING. ARIKPO POINED OUT NIGERIANS HAVE THUS FAR BEEN CONCILIATORY TO FRENCH, HAVE MADE NO THREATS AGAINST FRENCH COMMERICAL INTERESTS NIGERIA.

5. RE AMNESTY, ARIKPO CITED GENERAL AMNESTY PLEDGE. WITH RESPECT TO OJUKWU, SAID HE WOULD NOT BE PUNISHED BUT FMG HOPED HE WOULD HAVE SENSE TO GO INTO EXILE "AT LEAST FOR SOME TIME." UNDSEC AND ARIKPO AGREED US ASSISTANCE TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS BASED ON US INTERESTS NIGERIA AND UNDSEC REAFFIRMED HIS JULY STATEMENT RE US VIEW.

6. UNDSEC EXPRESSED HOPE FOR CLOSE WORKING RELATION AMB. TRUEHEART WITH FMG AND ARIKPO SAID HE LOOKING FORWARD TO MEETING AND WORKING WITH AMB. TRUEHEART.
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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS PROJECT

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

P 192020Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1798
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS ~~6130~~ 1830

4590Q

NODIS

FEB 19, 5:42 PM 1970

SECTO 104

FOR PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY

1. AS YOU HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY SEEN FROM THE NEWSPAPERS I HAD AN EXTENDED 7 HOUR CONVERSATION WITH MOBUTU ON HIS BOAT IN THE CONGO RIVER. MOBUTU IS A DYNAMIC, VIGOROUS MAN OF VERY STRONG OPINIONS AND WITH A DEMAGOGIC STREAK. HE APPARENTLY ALSO IS VERY POPULAR. EVERY TIME WE PASSED ANOTHER BOAT HE WAS GREETED WITH GREAT CHEERS AND WAVING AND IT WAS CLEAR THAT HE HAS STRONG POPULAR SUPPORT.

2. HE IS PRACTICALLY OBSESSED WITH THE COMMUNIST CHINESE PRESENCE ALONG HIS BORDERS IN CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE), BURUNDI, AND SUDAN. HE BELIEVES THE CHINESE ARE GIVING MILITARY TRAINING TO 10,000 CONGOLESE EXILES IN TANZANIA AND THAT 7,000 MORE ARE BEING TRAINED AND ARMED IN THE SUDAN. HE ADMITS HE IS MILITARILY STRONGER THAN ANY OF HIS NEIGHBORS BUT FEARS SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY FROM SEVERAL POINTS AT ONCE.

3. HE MADE A VIGOROUS REQUEST FOR 3 C-130S FOR HIS PARA-TROOPERS (ADDITIONAL TO THE ONES WE ARE PROVIDING FOR CIVILIAN USE). HE ALSO WANTS A FEW RIVER BOATS USABLE ON LAKES AND RIVERS. HE IS VERY MUCH A SOLDIER.

4. HE WAS PLEASED WITH YOUR INVITATION AND HIS FOREIGN MINISTER AND AMB. VANCE ARE GETTING TOGETHER TO CONFIRM THE DATES. HE WANTS TO TELL YOU MOST OF THE SAME THINGS HE TOLD ME. HE WANTED YOU TO KNOW HE IS A FIRM AND LOYAL FRIEND OF THE US AND IS VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THE SUPPORT WE GAVE THE CONGO WHEN NO ONE ELSE WAS DOING SO.

5. I ASSURED HIM OF THE STEADFASTNESS OF OUR SUPPORT BUT SAID OUR ESTIMATES OF CHINESE AND SOVIET STRENGTH IN AFRICA WERE NOT AS ALARMING AS HIS. I ALSO WARNED HIM ABOUT CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARD MILITARY AID AND OF THE UNLIKELIHOOD OF ANY

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SIGNIFICANT INCREASES. MOBUTU ALSO ASKED ABOUT OUR POLICIES ON VIET-NAM, CHINA AND KOREA SO HE "COULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT US." MOBUTU IS ALSO STARTING TO SPEND MORE MONEY ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND I ENCOURAGED HIM IN THIS DIRECTION.

6. I AM SURE YOU WILL FIND HIM TO BE AN INTERESTING PERSON. HE GIVES EVERY EVIDENCE OF INTENDING TO BE AROUND A LONG TIME. HE IS A STRONG PERSON BUT NOT AS PROFOUND A MAN AS KAUNDA.

7. I ALSO HAD A VALUABLE SESSION WITH OUR AFRICAN AMBASSADORS IN KINSHASA. I USED IT TO SEEK THEIR ADVICE ON AFRICAN POLICY. IN GENERAL THEY VERY MUCH SUPPORT A MORE ACTIVE US INTEREST IN AFRICA. AGREE THAT OUR MAIN POLICY SHOULD BE ECONOMIC (TRADE, INVESTMENT AND AID), AND WANT US TO MAINTAIN MORAL AND POLITICAL PRESSURES ON THE RACIAL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEY HAD A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS WHICH I WILL SORT OUT FOR RECOMMENDATION TO YOU ON MY RETURN.

8. YOUR DECISION TO HAVE A POLICY STATEMENT AFTER MY RETURN, INCIDENTALLY, HAS PROVED TO BE A GOOD ONE. IT HAS MADE EVERYONE I HAVE MET EAGER TO PRESENT HIS VIEWS ON MATTERS OF HIGHEST CONCERN TO HIM.

TRUEHEART

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CONFIDENTIAL

Department of State

TELEGRAM

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

SECRET

'70 FEB 16 AM 2:32

Call Book

3 5 0 8 Q
1970 FEB 15 AM 9 56

0 150955Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1727
BT
S E C R E T LAGOS 1699

NODIS

EYES ONLY FOR ACTING SECRETARY

1. YOUR 23092 JUST RECEIVED. AS I LEAVE FOR AIRPORT TO GO TO KINSHASA CONFERENCE IN AN HOUR, I CAN REPLY ONLY VERY BRIEFLY AT THIS TIME. ALSO, I HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED THE PARALLEL MESSAGE TO WHICH YOU REFER IN YOUR FIRST PARAGRAPH.

2. HOWEVER, THERE ARE SEVERAL GENERAL POINTS WHICH I FEEL I MUST MAKE.

A. AS YOU APPRECIATE, OUR PRESSURES ON THE RELIEF FRONT HAVE BROUGHT OUR POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THE FMG CLOSE TO THE BREAKING POINT. IN MY JUDGMENT, THE TONE OF THIS RELATIONSHIP WILL NOT BE IMPROVED BY VIGOROUS ACTION BY THIS MISSION. JUST THE REVERSE IS TRUE: WE MUST MAINTAIN THE LOWEST OF PROFILES UNTIL THE IRRITATIONS RECENTLY CREATED HAVE SUBSIDED SOMEWHAT. IN PARTICULAR, THE KIND OF CONCERTED COUNTRY TEAM APPROACH ENVISAGED IN PARA 8A OF YOUR MESSAGE--NO MATTER HOW ADROITLY IT WAS CARRIED OUT--WOULD BE PROMPTLY IDENTIFIED AS RENEWED U. S. PRESSURE CAMPAIGN. THE RESULT COULD BE DISASTROUS, FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELIEF PROGRAM AND FOR OUR LONGER-TERM POSITION HERE. I MUST REPEAT THAT WE ARE VERY CLOSE TO THE EDGE HERE. WITH FURTHER PROVOCATION, THE FMG ARE IN A MOOD, FOR EXAMPLE, TO EXCLUDE U. S. PERSONNEL ALTOGETHER FROM THE WAR AFFECTED AREA. VISITS BY DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL ARE ALREADY EFFECTIVELY BARRED.

3. IF THE FOREGOING ANALYSIS IS CORRECT--AND I BELIEVE EVERYONE IN THIS MISSION WOULD AGREE THAT IT IS--THEN IT FOLLOWS THAT OUR ONLY WAY OF IMPROVING THE NIGERIAN RELIEF OPERATION AND INDEED OF KEEPING ABREAST OF WHAT IS GOING ON IS BY USING THE TECHNICAL CHANNELS. EVEN THESE CAN BE OVERLOADED AND I HOPE THAT WITH THIS IN MIND WASHINGTON REQUIREMENTS FOR DETAILED INFORMATION CAN BE REFINED AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

SECRET

4. WHILE IT WOULD BE TOO MUCH TO SAY THAT NUTRITIONAL SITUATION IN FORMER ENCLAVE IS REASSURING, THE PROGRESSIVELY IMPROVING NUTRITIONAL SURVEYS (LATEST CONTAINED LAGOS 1692) HAVE CERTAINLY LED ME TO CONCLUSION THAT MASS STARVATION IS NOT IN PROSPECT AND THAT FEEDING PROBLEM WHICH WILL BE WITH US FOR LONG TIME IS BEING ADDRESSED WITH STEADILY INCREASING EFFECTIVENESS. I AM CONVINCED THAT LATTER CAN ONLY BE SET BACK BY RENEWED EFFORT TO CONVINCE FMG OF QTE SERIOUSNESS OF PROBLEM UNQTE EXCEPT AS THIS CAN BE DONE INDIRECTLY AND THROUGH TECHNICAL/MEDICAL CHANNELS.

5. FOR WHAT IT MAY BE WORTH, THE BRITISH WHO HAVE MUCH AT STAKE HERE ARE FOLLOWING A POLICY COMPLETELY CONSISTENT WITH FOREGOING. GP-2

TRUEHEART

BT

HAK Book

Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

12

0 061745Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1527
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 1402

Control: 1540Q
Recd : 6 Feb 70
2:58 p.m.

NODIS

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO NIGERIA

REFGF LAGOS 1401

1. IN DISCUSSING SUBJECTS FOR SECRETARY'S TALKS HERE CLARK WAS EMPHATIC THAT GENERAL GOWON WAS PRIMARILY, EVEN EXCLUSIVELY, INTERESTED IN TALKING WITH THE SECRETARY ABOUT US-NIGERIAN RELATIONS. ACCORDING TO CLARK, GOWON IS "VERY UPSET" OVER THE RAPID DETERIORATION IN THESE RELATIONS IN RECENT DAYS WHICH GOWON DESCRIBES AS J"LOSS OF FAITH."

2. THIS IS ONE ADDITIONAL INDICATION THAT GOWON HAS BEEN BADLY SHAKEN UP BY THE TURN OF EVENTS SINCE THE END OF THE WAR. IT HAS COME AS A SEVERE SHOCK TO HIM--AFTER A CLEARCUT VICTORY IN THE WAR AND INITIATION OF A POLICY OF ALMOST UNEXAMPLED MAGNANIMITY TOWARDS THE ENEMY--SUDDENLY TO FIND HIMSELF AND PARTICULARLY THE ARMY PILLORIED IN THE FOREIGN PRESS AS WELL AS IN PARLIAMENT AND CONGRESS, IN TERMS WHICH SUGGEST THAT HE IS EITHER IGNORANT OF CONDITIONS IN HIS OWN COUNTRY, OR INDIFFERENT TO THEM, OR INCOMPETENT TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT THEM, OR ALL THREE. THESE IMPRESSIONS HAVE BEEN REINFORCED BY PRESSURES WE HAVE EXERTED IN RELIEF AREA. THIS, I AM REASONABLY SURE, IS WHAT GOWON MEANS BY "LOSS OF FAITH."

3. IT IS MY HOPE THAT THE SECRETARY CAN DO MUCH TO REPAIR THIS SITUATION IN HIS PERSONAL MEETING WITH GOWON. THE KEY WILL BE, I BELIEVE, TO SPEAK FRANKLY WITH HIM BUT ABOVE ALL TO SHOWAN UNDERSTANDING OF HOW THE SITUATION LOOKS FROM GOWON'S PERSPECTIVE. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO SHOW HIM CLEARLY THAT WE BELIEVE IN HIS GOOD INTENTIONS AND HIS ABILITY TO CARRY THEM OUT. WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER, I HOPE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO INVOLVE THE PRESIDENT AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

FEB 6 PM 7:32
WHITE HOUSE

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A SIGNED PHOTOGRAPH WITH A SUITABLE INSCRIPTION HAS ALREADY BEEN SUGGESTED WITH THIS IN MIND. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THIS COULD BE SUPPLEMENTED WITH A PERSONAL, PERHAPS ORAL, MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE IN GOWON AND U.S. SUPPORT WHICH COULD BE REFERRED TO PUBLICLY IN THE SECRETARY'S DEPARTURE STATEMENT.

4. MORE EFFECTIVE STILL IN BINDING OT THE WOUNDS WOULD BE AN INVITATION TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES, AT A TIME TO BE FIXED LATER. IT WOULD BE HIGHLY ADVANTAGEOUS IF INVITATION AND ACCEPTANCE WOULD BE ANNOUNCED DURING SECRETARY'S VISIT. HOWEVER, IF AT TIME OF VISIT THERE REMAIN MAJOR UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT RELIEF SITUATION, ANNOUNCEMENT COULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL DATE AGREED UPON. GP-2.

TRUEHEART

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CONFIDENTIAL

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Department of State TELEGRAM

SECRET

5 2 8 0 Q
1970 JAN 28 PM 1 47

0 281720Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1240
BT
S E C R E T LAGOS 976

NODIS

FOR THE UNDER SECRETARY

REF: STATE 13129

SUBJECT: AIRLIFT INTO ENCLAVE

1. WE HAVE USED ALL HANDS AND PULLED OUT ALL STOPS (A) TO GET A MEETING WITH GOWON AND/OR (B) TO GET AN AIRLIFT INTO THE ENCLAVE. WE HAVE JUST HAD THROUGH EXTERNAL AFFAIRS WHAT APPEARS TO BE A FLAT TURNDOWN ON THE MEETING BUT IT LOOKS AS IF WE MAY HAVE GOT THE AIRLIFT, WHICH I PRESUME IS WHAT REALLY MATTERS. ON THIS WE HAVE HAD A MAJOR ASSIST FROM LABOUISSE OF UNICEF.

2. ARRANGEMENT, WHICH IS STILL NOT FINAL, WILL BE FOR UNICEF TO ACT AS SPONSOR FOR FRACHFLUG DC-6'S UNDER OPERATIONAL CONTROL OF FMG REHABILITATION COMMISSION. AYIDA HAS INDICATED TO LABOUISSE THAT UNDER THIS SET-UP PLANES COULD FLY "ON THE SLY" INTO OBILAGO, UGA AND ULI.

3. WE SHALL PROBABLY NEVER KNOW EXACTLY HOW THIS HAS COME ABOUT, BUT APPEARS FMG NOW RPT NOW GRASPS THE URGENCY AND DESPERATENESS OF THE SITUATION AND NO DOUBT OUR EFFORTS TO BRIEF AND EXPLAIN AND TO FORCE A MEETING WITH GOWON HAVE HAD A PART IN THIS, ALONG WITH INFORMATION COMING TO FMG DIRECTLY FROM NIGERIAN RED CROSS.

4. WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT THESE ARRANGEMENTS ARE NOT RPT NOT YET FINAL. IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT AYIDA HAS AN FMG DECISION AND A LEAK COULD IN ANY CASE BE FATAL. THEREFORE URGE THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT BE MOST CLOSELY HELD AT LEAST UNTIL DC-6'S ARE HERE AND FLIGHTS HAVE BEGUN. GP-1.

TRUEHEART

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

2663Q

JAN 15, 1970 1:41 PM

0 151750Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 867
BT
S E C R E T LAGOS 439

NODIS

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO AFRICA

REF: STATE 5958

1. GENERAL GOWON WILL BE PLEASED TO HAVE SECRETARY VISIT NIGERIA FEBRUARY 19-20, ON UNDERSTANDING ANNOUNCEMENT OF VISIT WOULD INDICATE NIGERIA SIMPLY ONE OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES BEING VISITED. THAT IS, NIGERIAN VISIT WOULD BE ANNOUNCED ALONG WITH REST OF SCHEDULE AND NOT RPT NOT IDENTIFIED IN ANY WAY AS LATE STARTER.

2. GOWON WAS UNDERSTANDABLY UNABLE TO SEE ME TODAY BUT RESPONDED PROMPTLY IN ABOVE SENSE TO INQUIRY PASSED THROUGH CLARK OF ESTAFF. I TOLD CLARK I WAS SURE IT WAS EQUALLY OUR DESIRE NOT TO SINGLE OUT NIGERIAN VISIT. I WOULD LIKE IF POSSIBLE TO GIVE HIM COPY OF REVISED ANNOUNCEMENT BEFORE RELEASE.

3. NEEDLESS TO SAY, I AM DELIGHTED THAT SECRETARY IS COMING TO LAGOS. IT WILL PROVIDE AN AUSPICIOUS BEGINNING FOR WHAT MAY BECOME A NEW ERA IN NIGERIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS.
GP-2

TRUEHEART
BT

SECRET

Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

(12)

W 14

3527Q
DEC 17, 3:49 PM 1969

0 171815Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 434
BT
S E C R E T LAGOS 10777

NODIS

REF LAGOS 10757 AND 10776

SHORTLY AFTER I RETUNRED FROM MY SECOND CALL OF THE DAY ON ARIKPO(SEPTEL) ENAHORO EXTAFF WHO HAD JUST TALKED WITH ARIKPO CALLED DCM. AFTER A SHORT PERIOD OF PERSONAL CONVERSATION ENAHORO EXPLAINING HE WAS TALKING PERSONALLY, SAID "CAN'T YOU GET YOUR PEOPLE BACK HOME TO COOL IT?" DCM ASKED HIM WHAT HE MEANT AND ENAHORO REPLIED: "YOU KNOW, YOUR INTERVENTION OVER THE ADDIS NEGOTIATIONS." HE SAID AFTER MY CALL ON ARIKPO THIS MORNING, HE AND ARIKPO TOLD GOWON ABOUT OUR DEMARCHE BUT DECIDED NOT TO INFORM OCOM WHICH WAS MEETING AT THAT TIME AS THEY WERE AFRAID THAT GROUP WOULD HIT THE CEILING OVER U.S. INTERVENTION. DCM EXPRESSED SUPRISE THAT OUR ACTION APPARENTLY RAISING SO MUCH DUST. ENAHORO REPLIED THAT EVERYONE PRESENTLY HYPERSENSITIVE ABOUT FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN NIGERIAN AFFAIRS. WHILE HE DIDN'T SAY IT IN SOM MANY WORDS IMPLICATION WAS THIS APPLIED IN PARTICULAR TO NON-AFRICAN COUNTRIES.
GP-1.
TRUEHEART
BT

SECRET

WH 11

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

2101Q

13 JAN 1970 12 49 PM

O 131649Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 803
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 331

NODIS

REF STATE 04890

SUBJECT: SECRETARY VISIT AFRICA

FROM NEWSOM

1. AMBASSADOR TRUEHEART AND I HAD DISCUSSED POSSIBLE DESIRABILITY RECOMMENDING SECRETARY VISIT LAGOS PRIOR RECEIPT REFTEL.

2. AS OF NOW IN LAGOS WAR SEEMS OVER AND PRESUMABLY VISIT WOULD BE FEASIBLE BY MID FEBRUARY.

3. AS SEPARATE REPORTING WILL INDICATE WHILE U.S. HAS NOT COME OUT BADLY FROM CIVIL WAR THERE IS SOME SUSPICION RE OUR ROL AND ATTITUDE. VISIT BY SECRETARY WOULD WE BELIEVE BE WELCOMED BY GOVERNMENT AND WOULD BE SEEN AS STRONG REAFFIRMATION U.S. INTEREST THIS COUNTRY MOST POPULOUS IN AFRICA. WE WOULD NOT ANTICIPATE ANY ADVERSE REACTION.

4. VIEW LIKELY CONTINUING MAJOR IMPORTANCE NIGERIA ON AFRICAN IF NOT WORLD SCENE, BELIEVE SECRETARY WOULD FIND EVEN BRIEF FAMILIARIZATION OF FUTURE BENEFIT.

5. QUESTION VISIT WAS RAISED WITH ME BY AMBASSADOR IYALLA. I REPLIED SECRETARY'S VISIT PLANS PRETTY FIRM AND WE HAVE EARLIER CONCLUDED VISIT WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE CONVENIENT IN WAR CONDITIONS. AMBASSADOR IYALLA STRONGLY URGED VISIT IF AT ALL POSSIBLE.

CONFIDENTIAL

6. ON NEGATIVE SIDE THERE IS POSSIBLITY OF EXPLOITABLE INCIDENTS IN FORMER BIAFRAN TERRITORY AND LIKELIHOOD NOT ALL OUR RELIEF OVERTURES WILL BE ACCEPTED. FACTORS OUTSIDE AFRICA MIGHT BE LESS HOSPITABLE TO VISIT THAN IN AFRICA.

7. ON BALANCE FROM STANDPOINT U.S.- NIGERIA AND U.S.-AFRICAN RELATIONS AMBASSADOR TRUEHEART AND I WOULD STRONGLY RECOMMEND AT LEAST ONE DAY VISIT LAGOS.
GP-2.

TRUEHEART

BT

11

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

W H

0 131115Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9920
BT
S E C R E T LAGOS 9878

3 0 2 7 Q
RECVD: 13 NOV 69
6:37AM

NODIS

S/S PASS INFO LONDON AND PARIS

REF: A) STATE 190258; B) STATE 190531

1. FOR BACKGROUND WOULD APPRECIATE RATIONALE FOR ELIMINATION, IN FINAL VERSION SECRETARY'S STATEMENT ON NIGERIAN/BIAFRAN RELIEF, REFERENCE TO AMBASSADOR FERGUSON'S HAVING GIVEN BIAFRANS SPECIFIC ASSURANCE THAT UNITED STATES ACCEPTED GOOD FAITH AND SOLEMN PLEDGE OF FMG AS TO INVIOLABILITY OF ICRC DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS.

2. FMG HAS OF COURSE NOT SEEN DRAFT CONTAINED REFERENCE (A) BUT THEY MIGHT WELL NOTE OMISSION OF THIS SIGNIFICANT PHRASE IN VIEW OF WHAT THEY HAD BEEN TOLD EARLIER ABOUT OUR PLANS. SHOULD THEY QUERY ME, I PROPOSE TO SAY THAT, AS FMG KNOWS, AMBASSADOR FERGUSON DID GIVE SUCH ASSURANCES TO BIAFRANS AND THIS IS CLEAR IMPLICATION OF SECRETARY'S STATEMENT, I.E., WE WOULD HARDLY HAVE SENT AMBASSADOR FERGUSON ON THIS MISSION UNLESS WE ACCEPTED FMG GOOD FAITH. I PRESUME, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS FELT IN WASHINGTON THAT AN EXPLICIT STATEMENT THAT THE US GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE GOOD FAITH OF THE FMG MIGHT BE TAKEN AS INVIDIOUS OR CONDESCENDING. GP-1

TRUEHEART

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